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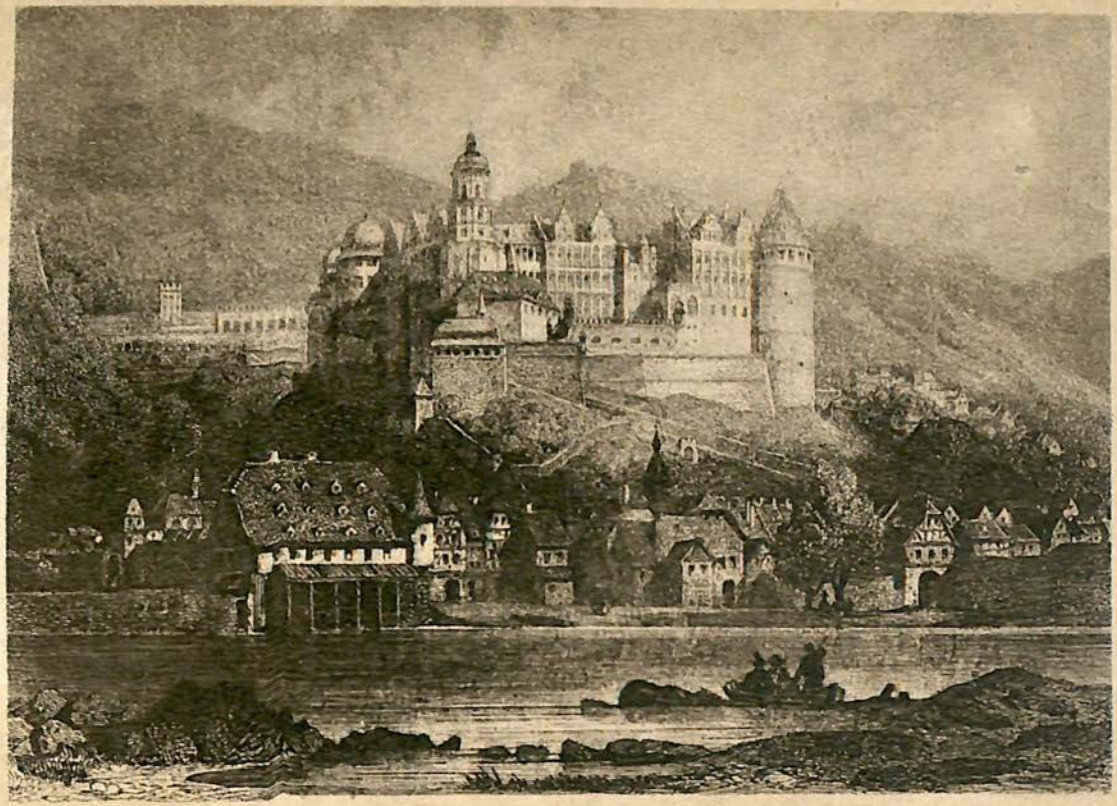

HEIDELBERG CASTLE BEFORE THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

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HEIDELBERG

ITS PRINCES AND ITS PALACES

BY

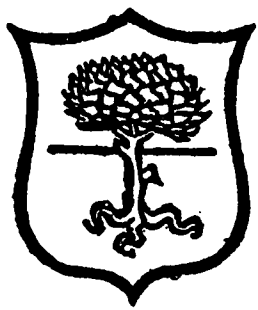
ELIZABETH GODFREY

AUTHOR OF

"HOME LIFE UNDER THE STUARTS"

"POOR HUMAN NATURE"

ETC.



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AT THE UNIVERSITY OF

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AND GRATITUDE FOR MUCH KIND HELP.

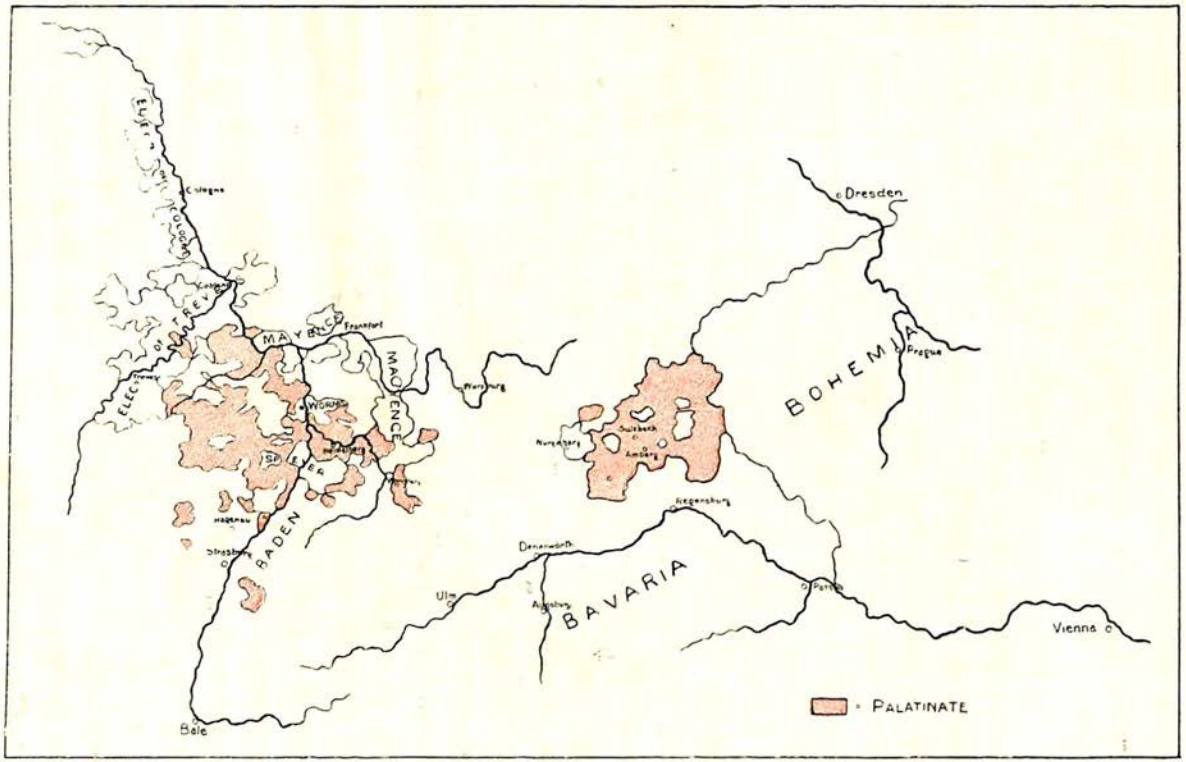
PREFACE

THE first inception of this book is due to Mrs. Marion Richards, who, during a stay of three summers in Heidelberg, collected material with a view to writing a volume under this title, a project which she was prevented from carrying out by ill-health. Besides these notes, together with others made since, the book has had the benefit of many suggestions and criticisms which her familiarity with the town and Castle enabled her to make, for which the writer, whose knowledge of the Castle is much less intimate, desires to express her indebtedness.

For the historical portion the writer is grateful for much kind help from the Principal Librarian, Herr Professor Dr. Jakob Wille, whose advice and suggestions enabled her to make the best use of a very short time in the Library at Heidelberg, and also to friends in England who have lent or suggested useful books, especially to the Rev. William Macintosh, M.A., PH.D., sometime Chaplain of the English Church in Heidelberg, who kindly revised the concluding chapter on the latter-day religious position. The main authority is Dr. Häusser, whose *Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz* gathers up the labours of a long course of predecessors; early chronicles and annals, archives preserved at Karlsruhe, Munich, and Spires, though many were unhappily lost either in

the burning of the Chancery in the fifteenth century or in the sack of the Library in the Thirty Years War. Much was also gathered by Dr. Häusser from the matriculation books of the University which, with the annals from the foundation, were saved by Peter de Spina. Both at Karlsruhe and at Munich are masses of correspondence, statutes, dispatches, and miscellaneous papers of which he made great use. The researches of Dr. Batt, of Weinheim, who spent his whole life in accumulating materials for a history, and of the three learned brothers Wundt, did much to clear the ground, and Dr. Häusser entered into their labours, of which he makes full acknowledgment.

Scarcely less important is *Heidelberg und Umgebung*, by Dr. Karl Pfaff, and the writer much regrets not having seen the latest and fullest edition of this (1902) until this book was finished; it contains much invaluable fresh material. For the labours of the Schloss Verein are continually adding to the accuracy and precision of knowledge on the subject, and bringing back much which long neglect, following on complete ruin, had caused to be lost. These two invaluable books have unhappily one most serious fault, the lack of index, a fault shared by another useful but slighter compilation, the *Ruperto-Carola: Fest Chronik*, published the year of the Quincentenary of the University, and containing an immense number of informing articles. Dr. Oechelhäuser's guide is a very careful and accurate one, and follows closely the latest discoveries of the Schloss Verein. Much that is of inestimable value for local colour is in the little *Führer für Fremde*, by Dr. Thomas Alfried Leger, edited by Count Charles de Graimberg, which, though its conclusions have been on some points disputed, or others disproved,



POSSESSIONS OF THE PALATINATE FROM THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY TILL THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

by recent investigations, is evidently written by one saturated in the old chronicles, for whom the life of the Middle Ages lives again.

The monumental work of the Abbé Janssen, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volks*, is invaluable, especially in the two first volumes, for the light it throws on the condition of Germany in the times immediately preceding the Reformation. For later times an immense quantity of correspondence is available in Bromley's *Royal Letters*, in the collections of Palatinate Letters made by Bodemann, in the *Memoirs of Sophie, Electress of Hanover*, in a *Memoir of the Electress Luise Juliane*, by F. E. Bunny, following Spanheim's biography; a *Memoir of the Queen of Bohemia*, by Miss Benger; and *Rupert, Prince Palatine*, by Eva Scott. These are the leading authorities followed, but many more have been laid under contribution.

The difficulty has not been to obtain material, which was only too abundant, but to select and arrange, and so to tell the story of the Palatinate as not to miss its salient features, and yet keep within due bounds. The great movements in which it played its part have been necessarily but curtly dealt with, and must be sought in larger histories; so, too, must the detailed study of the many attractive and picturesque figures which have adorned its annals.

The work has been most interesting to the worker, who hopes that it may prevent some readers from making the remark uttered by a rather learned man: "I did not know the Palatinate had a history!"

The illustrations are chiefly from photographs of the Castle and of the portraits and old prints in the Castle Museum, taken by Herr Edmund von König, of Heidelberg. The drawing by Otto Heinrich is reproduced by

the kind permission of Herr F. Horning, publisher of *Das Heidelberger Schloss*, by Dr. Oechelhäuser; the old print of the Michaelsbasilika by that of the Schloss Verein.

The map though on a small scale will, it is hoped, suffice to give the reader an idea of the scattered nature of the possessions of the Palatinate, and how curiously it was interwoven with other principalities and bishoprics. It follows the plate of Germany at the time of the Reformation, 1492–1618, from the Sprüner-Mencke Hand Atlas published at Gotha by Julius Perthes. The outlines of the Palatinate remained the same until the Thirty Years War. It is the work of a friend for whose kind help in many ways the writer is most grateful.

ELIZABETH GODFREY.

SOUTHBURNE,
March, 1905.

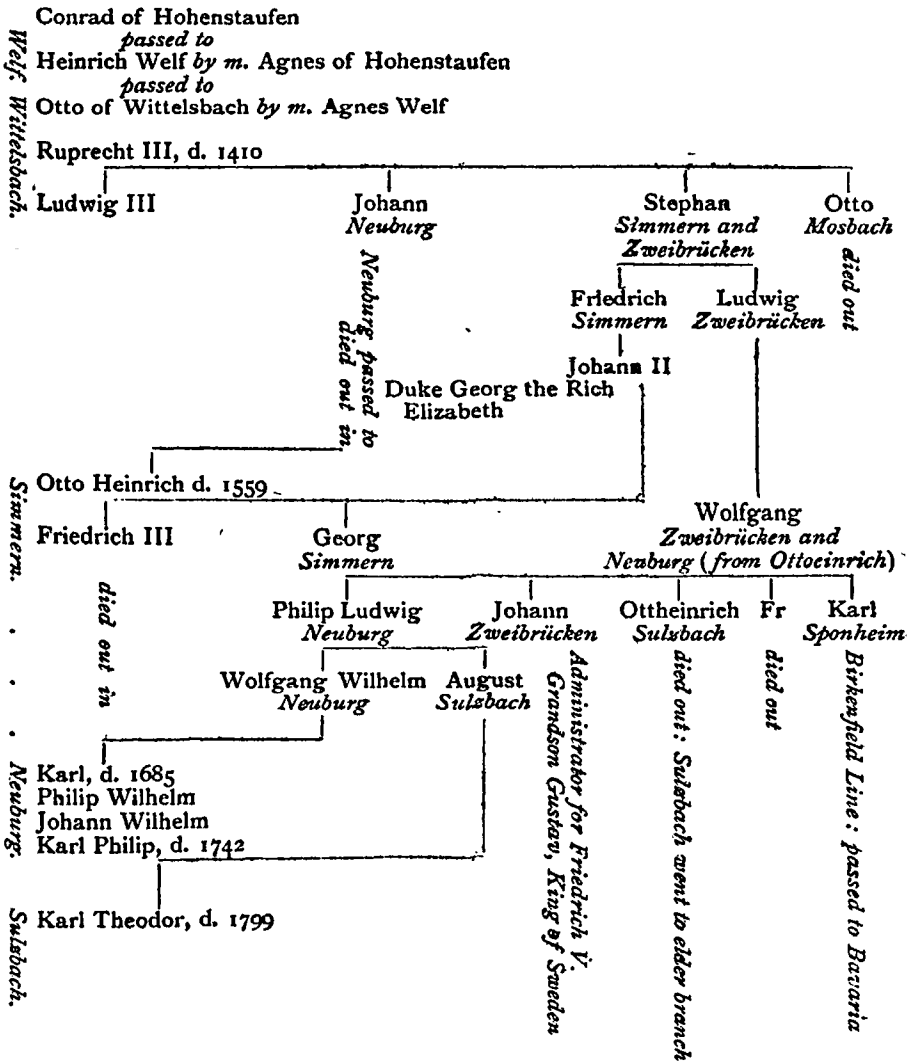
RULERS OF THE PALATINATE WITH CONTEMPORARY EMPERORS

ELECTORS PALATINE	EMPERORS
	1152 Friedrich I. (Barbarossa)
1155 Conrad of Hohenstaufen	
	1190 Heinrich VI.
1195 Heinrich Welf (the Younger)	
	1197 Otto IV.
	Philip II. (rival)
1215 Ludwig I. (the Schyre)	1212 Friedrich II.
	Heinrich Raspe and William of Holland
1225 Otto (the Illustrious)	
	1250 Conrad IV.
1253 Ludwig II. (the Stern)	
	1254 Interregnum
	1272 Richard Earl of Cornwall
	1291 Rudolf of Hapsburg
1294 Rudolf I.	
	1298 Adolf
	1308 Albrecht
	1313 Heinrich of Luxemburg
	1319 Ludwig (Count Palatine)
1329 Rudolf II. and Ruprecht I. and II.	
	1347 Karl IV. (of Bohemia)
	1378 Wenzel
1390 Ruprecht II.	
1398 Ruprecht III.	
	1399 Ruprecht (Elector Palatine)
1410 Ludwig III. (the Pious)	1410 Siegmund
1437 Ludwig IV.	
	1438 Albrecht II.
	1439 Friedrich III.
1449 Friedrich I. (the Victorious)	
1476 Philip (the Upright)	
	1493 Maximilian
1508 Ludwig V.	
	1519 Charles V.

RULERS OF THE PALATINATE

ELECTORS PALATINE	EMPERORS
1544 Friedrich II.	
1556 Otto Heinrich	
	1558 Ferdinand I.
1559 Friedrich III. (the Pious)	
	1564 Maximilian II.
1576 Ludwig VI.	1576 Rudolf II.
1580 Johann Casimir (Administrator)	
1594 Friedrich IV.	
1610 Friedrich V. (the Winter King)	
	1611 Mathias
	1619 Ferdinand II.
1632 Karl Ludwig	
	1637 Ferdinand III.
	1657 Leopold I.
1680 Karl	
1685 Simmern line extinct	

CHART OF PALATINATE LINES



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BOOK I

THE FOUNDATIONS

I

THE ROMANS

UP the valley of the Neckar the hills rise steeply on either hand, clothed with beech and Spanish chestnut to the very summit, leaving hardly space for the long narrow town between wood and river. On the crest of one of the steepest of these, the Lesser Geisberg, dominating the whole valley at the height of some 650 feet above the river, stood once the earliest stronghold of the lords of the Palatinate. Very little is known of it, since the building was completely destroyed in successive disasters, and now the modern world has hidden the very foundations, which were all that remained, beneath the terraces of a restaurant known as the Molkenkur, where once it was the fashion to drink whey.

From this vantage ground, looking down the narrow valley debouching into the wide, sunlit, misty plain through which the distant Rhine goes gleaming on his proud way, we may in imagination see unrolled the story of the Palatinate, merging in the great stream of German —one may almost say of European—history. For until the Thirty Years War there was no great movement of continental politics in which that small but not unimportant state did not play its part for good or evil, and its relations with ourselves have been many and far-reaching in their effects. It is singular that we English should as a rule know so little about it.

It was once an important seat of the Roman power, commanding the great waterway of the Rhine; its fair and fruitful vineyards made it the desired prey of the Germanic invaders, and the bone of contention between Alemanni and Franks; it was the very kernel of Charle-

magne's great empire, and from the title of his Court officials, *Comes Palatii*, the name of its rulers was derived. Twice Christianized, the second time by our English Winfrith, better known as Boniface, it became the seat of the most important and powerful of the German bishoprics, and the battleground of the protracted struggle between Church and State long before the Reformation; it stood in close and peculiar relation to the Empire, some of its rulers themselves wearing the Imperial crown, and in the struggles of Pope and Emperor, Guelf and Ghibelline, it played no inconsiderable part. For centuries Heidelberg was one of the chief centres of learning, and its divines drew up the Heidelberg Catechism, to which was so largely due the split between the Protestants which gave a new trend to the Reformation, a trend which, culminating in the disastrous attempt of its ruler to lead the extreme wing and grasp the crown of Bohemia, brought on the whole country the awful calamity of the Thirty Years War. Rising from its ashes under the fostering hand of Karl Ludwig, the Palatinate awoke the greed of the Grand Monarque, to perish more hopelessly in the Orleans War, and though politically annihilated, its capital lives still as the seat of a University of world-wide renown as well as a precious relic of bygone days.

This part of Germany first steps into the domain of history in the pages of Cæsar in *De Bello Gallico*, where the manners of the German tribes are described and contrasted with those of the Gauls. He speaks especially of the Suevi, progenitors of the Swabians, probably to be identified with the Chatti spoken of a little later by Tacitus as occupying Franconia; both writers would naturally be most familiar with the tribes bordering on the Rhine. His account tallies in many points with that of Strabo a century later, of Pomponius, and of Tacitus, writing A.D. 98.* All speak of the great height and bodily strength of the Germans, though Tacitus finds them wanting in endurance, and says they bore cold better than heat: they were inured to cold, wearing scanty garments,

* Tacitus, *De Moribus Germaniae.*

and loving to bathe and swim, even in winter. The Roman writers were also struck with the simplicity of their manners, their chastity, and respect for their women. They were fierce of aspect, with ruddy golden hair and blue eyes.

They had no cities, says Tacitus, those enumerated by Ptolemy being mere clusters of huts, for one of their customs was to remove their dwellings every year that no man might accumulate wealth, lest they should grow soft with easy living and husbandry. The Rhenish tribes, from propinquity to the Gauls and Roman provincials, were more civilized than those dwelling farther eastward. Tacitus also describes the country as divided between marsh and forest lands, the former prevailing in North Germany, the south and west, Thuringia, Swabia, and Franconia, being, as now, richly wooded, and the great Hercynian forest, stretching from Basel right across to Bohemia and Hungary, was noted for its huge oaks. Its remnants still exist in the Harz and also in the Hardt Gebirge south of the Neckar Thal.

The Neckar valley belonged to the Roman province of Germania Superior from the time of Vespasian to that of Gallienus, from 69 to 268 A.D. Some fragments of ancient Roman pavement, some inscriptions, some tombstones, and a few milestones, attest the fact that Heidelberg was in Roman occupation, and in all probability a Roman fort stood on the site of the old castle. On the opposite hill are unquestioned traces of another, while a third is believed to have existed nearer the river, in what is now the suburb of Neuenheim, a little below the new bridge, where in 1877 piles of an old Roman bridge were discovered. The principal Roman settlement would seem to have been on the right bank of the river, and here was the meeting-point of several important military roads, marked by stone pillars or milestones now to be found in the Museum at Mannheim. One led from Mayence through Ladenburg and Heidelberg over the hills to the upper Rhine, a second branched off and went through Spires and Worms, a third ran eastward, cutting off the bend of the Neckar at

Eberbach, and crossed the hills to Neckarelz. Probably another followed the route of the Bergstrasse, later the great mediæval road from Heidelberg to Darmstadt. Ladenburg, on the right bank of the Neckar, not very far from Heidelberg, the Roman Lopodunum, is mentioned by Ausonius as an important military station in the fourth century. It yielded a rich harvest of Roman remains now to be seen in the museums of Mannheim and Karlsruhe. In old Frankish times it became the seat of one of the numerous palaces built in this region, and later was attached to the Bishopric of Worms while owing allegiance to the Palatinate.

On the crest of the hill facing the Geisberg, called the Heiligenberg or Mountain of the Saints, above the famous Philosopher's Road which cuts the slope half-way, the steep Monk's Way leads through the dense woods that wrap the summit to a group of ruins that forms a veritable palimpsest of history. The double peak is surrounded by two ring walls which, though used as defences by the Alemanni in the fourth century, are believed to be of Keltic origin. This may well be so, taken in conjunction with the Keltic remains and relics of the Stone Age found in the village of Handschuhsheim a mile or two below. The Romans called the hill Mons Piri because of a great pear-tree on the summit, beneath which sacrifices were wont to be offered to Wotan, and here they built a temple to Mercury.* A very interesting passage in Tacitus throws a light on the connexion :—

"Deorum maxime Mercurium colunt, cui, certis diebas, humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent. Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant : pars Suevorum et Isidi sacrificat. Unde causa et origo peregrino sacro parum comperi, nisi quod signum ipsum in modum liburnae figuratum, docet advectam religionem. Ceterum, nec cohibere parietibus deos neque in ullam humani oris speciem assimilare, ex magnitudine coelestium arbitran-

* *Der Odenwald in Wort und Bild.* Lorentzen.

OLD ALLEGORICAL PRINT,

WITH VIEW OF BASILIKA OF S. MICHAEL ON THE HEILIGENBERG ON THE RIGHT.

tur: lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident." *

Thor, the strong man, would seem to have been identified with Hercules; and Tyr, the brave, who feared not to put his hand in the wolf's mouth, with Mars. The worship in groves rather than in temples agrees with the wandering habits alluded to above.

When the Franks drove out the Roman provincials, they built a little to the west a strong tower commanding the Rhine valley and the sweep of the Odenwald with its Roman road, of which the crumbling ruins still remain, and on the round-headed Roman vaulting and strong close-built masonry arose a Christian church, dedicated to St. Michael. The basilika form of this would seem to point to an earlier Roman Christianity, swept away by the Frankish invasion, but whether this be so or not, the church of St. Michael, which stood for many centuries, and of which the piers and aisles are still to be traced, was built on these foundations in the ninth century, not long after the preaching of St. Boniface, by the Benedictine monks of the great Abbey of Lorsch, the chief monastery of the Diocese of Worms, whose abbot was a prince of the Empire and ruled the lands along the Bergstrasse. It was enlarged in the eleventh century and two flanking towers added, and till the Thirty Years War it stood with the figure of the Archangel facing westward, where Wotan and Mercury once had their temples. Since then the villagers from Handschuhsheim have carried off its stones to repair their dwellings, and now little remains but the bases of the pillars and some shafts lying in the ditch

* Of the gods they especially worship Mercury, whom they deem it right to propitiate with human sacrifices. Hercules and Mars they appease by lawful animal sacrifices: some of the Suevi offer to Isis also. Whence the origin and reason of this worship of a foreign deity I have not ascertained, unless her emblem being fashioned in the likeness of a Liburnian galley shows that the cult comes from over-seas. Moreover, their realization of the majesty of Divine Beings prevents them from confining their gods within temple walls, or from forming them in the similitude of any human countenance. Groves and woods they hold sacred, and it is by the various names of their gods that they address that mysterious Being whom they regard with absolute awe and reverence.

below. The monastery and church of St. Stephen, built in 1094, which crowned the southern crest of the hill, have vanished still more completely, its stones having been used to build a belvedere, so dear to the heart of the German tourist.

To the west, a steep way, partly steps, leads down to Handschuhsheim, and on all great festivals processions of villagers used to wend their way up to the sacred shrines on the hill-top, a custom which was kept up long after the Reformation, indeed until the final destruction in the Thirty Years War. This village, situated near the beginning of the Bergstrasse, was evidently a place of importance in Roman times, as the many remains there testify. Traces of an earlier Keltic population have also been found, confirming the assertion of Tacitus that the Helvetii were at one time settled between the Rhine, the Main, and the Hercynian forest. This Keltic element was already partly driven out, partly absorbed in the oncoming Germanic tribes before Cæsar's day, but its presence possibly rendered the work of civilization easier, as the Keltic race answered to Roman influence more readily than the more stubborn German nature. The work which Cæsar left incomplete was carried forward by Drusus and Tiberius, who established Roman fortresses on both banks of the Rhine, and up the tributary rivers—the Moselle, the Main, and the Neckar. On the former stood one of their most important stations, Trêves, a walled city, of the strength of which the great Porta Nigra, still standing, may give some idea.

As the conquerors became more firmly established, the less civilized tribes withdrew eastward beyond the confines of Bohemia, and their deserted lands were colonized by the Gauls, who had learned something of Roman manners. By the end of the first century the Rhineland had become a Roman province under Nerva, Trajan, and Domitian, and sharing in Roman civilization, shared too in Roman corruption. The great amphitheatre at Trêves, where not only gladiatorial shows

were to be witnessed, but Christians were thrown to wild beasts, was probably visited by many dwellers in the Neckar Thal, for in a Roman province travelling was easy.

The third century saw a change; fresh German tribes came pouring westward across the province, obliterating its culture, its luxury, its religion. The German frontier was driven forward to the Rhine, and ere long beyond it, into the very midst of Gaul. In the fourth came a moment of recoil; in the year 357 Julian conquered seven allied German kings, or tribal heads, at Strasburg, three of whom belonged to the lands between Rhine, Main, and Neckar, which later formed the nucleus of the Palatinate.

Once more the tide of invasion was stemmed by the Emperors Jovian and Valentinian, and the latter did much to arrest it by establishing military posts on the rivers. A harbour with a redoubt was made at the junction of the Neckar with the Rhine, probably the first beginning of Mannheim. Another redoubt is mentioned built "on a height of the Odenwald called Mons Piri," and for a few years longer the Roman governors continued to hold their own; but with the opening of the fifth century a fresh tide of invasion arose—Trêves, Mayence, and Worms fell, and Germany pushed itself like a wedge into the heart of Gaul.

Dim and obscure are the records of the century-long struggle between the Alemanni and the Franks. According to Dr. Häusser, the Franks came from the lower Rhine and only now established themselves in the Palatinate; but Lewis Sergeant holds that "the true cradle-land of the Germans who were called Franks was the country lying between the Middle Rhine and the Hercynian forest." * This, of course, would include the Palatinate. However this may be, certain it is that the great victory of Chlodwig, or as the French call him Clovis, at Zülpich, or Tolbiac, in the year 496, established the Frankish supremacy in this portion of Germany. At Rheinfelden also

* *The Franks*, by Lewis Sergeant (*Story of the Nations*).

the Franks gained a great victory, and a huge barrow, so large as to appear like a natural hill, covers the bones of the slaughtered hosts.

So where the Roman sway had passed, the Frank now firmly set his foot.

II

THE FRANKS

THE Frankish dominion which was now set up, though its name passed later to the kingdom of France, was essentially a German power, and in the very midst of it lay the Rhine valley with the Palatinate, much of which was the personal heritage of the Frankish monarchs. Aix-la-Chapelle, at which they were crowned, stood a little farther north, but they had palaces at Worms, Spires, and Ladenburg. Whether the Palatinate yet constituted a separate duchy is a moot point; Cremer's supposition of a dukedom of Rhein Franken existing during the Merovingian period is considered by Häusser to be merely a clever but hardly well-grounded hypothesis. For a time the history of the Palatinate is the history of the Merovingian line, and it shared in all the struggles, overthrows, and crimes with which one king succeeded another till the strong hand of Charles Martel set up a new dynasty.

The right of primogeniture, the mainstay of monarchy, had not yet become established among the Franks, and the continual division of patrimony was a continual source of anarchy and weakness. The Empire—for it practically amounted to that—which Chlodwig had set up, soon split into four kingdoms—Aquitaine, Neustria, Burgundy, and Austrasia, the Rhineland pertaining to the last. The Rhenish portion constituting the royal patrimony was thereby preserved from some of the worst disorders of the time, for the personal interest of the kings promoted the cultivation of the soil and the spread of the Church with its civilizing influence, and if it diminished

political independence it kept alive some remnants of ancient culture.

For through these wild times the Church was steadily growing in power and wealth, as one after another the tribes of the barbarians came under its sway. The conqueror, Chlodwig, whose wife Clothilde was a Christian, embraced Christianity together with a great company of his followers immediately after the victory of Tolbiac; the account of his conversion is thus narrated by Gregory of Tours.* His eldest son Ingomar after his baptism had sickened and died, and Chlodwig vehemently reproached the Queen: "My gods are angry," said he, "and your God could not help you." Nevertheless, in the thick of the fight at Tolbiac he raised his eyes to heaven, being pricked to the heart, and weeping sore; and he said, "Jesus Christ, whom Clothilde declares to be the son of the living God, who art said to give help in trouble and victory to those that trust to Thee, I earnestly pray for Thy succour. If Thou wilt grant me the victory over these foes, and if I behold the strength that this people who are called after Thy Name declare that they have found in Thee, then will I believe in Thee, and will be baptized in Thy Name. For I have called upon my gods, but they are far from helping me, so that I think they have no power at all, seeing they do not aid such as render them obedience. Now do I call on Thee, with good will to believe in Thee so that Thou save me from mine enemies." And whilst he was yet speaking, the Allemans lost their courage and fled. After this great deliverance Chlodwig believed and was baptized, and many of his nobles with him. The baptism took place at Rheims and was a gorgeous ceremonial.

He of course gave large donations to the Church, and so did many of the kings who succeeded him, and the records of those days are full of endowments of cathedrals and new bishoprics. Chlotar II. founded the important Bishopric of Spires, the cathedral of which was the burial-place of several of the German Emperors, and also made

* *The Franks*, by Lewis Sergeant.

over to the Chapter at Worms the town of Ladenburg with a portion of the Odenwald, the chain of wooded hills which trend round from the Neckar below Heidelberg to Darmstadt. Dagobert endowed Spires still more richly, and Siegbert II. gave to it the royal tithes of the province of Speyergau. A little later Childeric freed it from taxation. The Abbey of Weissenburg was founded about the same time, though it is not certainly known whether by Dagobert I. or II.; the foundation of Klingenmünster is ascribed to the latter.

Early in the eighth century came St. Boniface from England on his important mission. He preached first to the heathen of Friesland, later to the Bavarians and Saxons, then still worshippers of Wotan and Thor, and when he was made Archbishop of Mayence, where one of the most glorious cathedrals of Germany was beginning to rise, the Rhenish provinces came under his influence. Here he found troubles and difficulties of another sort than with the heathen, for the Frankish Christians formed a somewhat schismatical body, with a married priesthood, which he considered so heretical that he refused to recognize their baptisms as valid until commanded to do so by the Pope. He brought over his cousin, St. Lioba, from her convent in Wimborne to aid him in his work: her sphere lay chiefly in Mayence and the more settled districts round about, and the ladies of the Palatinate may have owed much to her gentle and refining influence. St. Boniface was murdered on one of his missionary journeys, and his body was brought by his sorrowing followers to the abbey church at Fulda, where some years later St. Lioba was laid beside him.

It is well that we remember that all these religious houses scattered through the land and endowed from time to time with worldly goods, were not set up for the advantage of monks and nuns, but were intended for the benefit of the whole country, and through these riotous and warlike days preserved not piety only, but culture and wisdom, all the arts of life, and its highest ideals. The monks cultivated the soil, taught the people, pre-

served and copied books, studied secular as well as religious learning, built, carved, painted, nursed the sick and tended the poor; while the nuns added to the last two avocations spinning, weaving, and all the fine arts of the needle.

Much of the Frankish Rhineland meanwhile passed into the personal possession of the *Majores Domus*, or *Maires du Palais*, and so strengthened their hands that in the end their power swallowed up that of the fainéant kings, from whom it was derived, and the son of Charles Martel, Pepin le Bref, established the Carolingian line upon the Frankish throne. Here in the Rhenish Palatinate was the very kernel of the dominions of Charlemagne: his palace at Ingelheim in the province of Worms, the building of which was begun between the years 768 and 774, ranked next to that at Aix-la-Chapelle, and must have been a magnificent structure, to judge by the description in the Poeta Saxo. For its adornment the Emperor had transported the whole of the internal fittings and decorations of Theodoric's great palace at Ravenna,* and it must have been a perfect treasury of ancient art. For the great Emperor was a man of culture and a patron of art as well as a zealous fosterer of education, a many-sided man whose reign was fruitful of good in all his dominions, and especially for the Palatinate, which was his favourite abode and in which a large part of his personal property was situated. Here, at Ingelheim, took place brilliant Court functions and weighty debates. At the great Reichstag at Worms his campaign against Saxony was decided on, and though Aix-la-Chapelle was pre-eminently the royal city, Ingelheim was more central for important gatherings. Foreigners and scholars of distinction were frequent visitors to his Court, which shone with something better than barbaric lustre. Charlemagne appointed over his palace and estates officials called *Comes Palatii*, a dignity which developed later into that of Pfalzgraf or Count Palatine.

* Gregorovius mentions the bringing of these treasures, but supposes them destined for Aix-la-Chapelle.

Within a generation, however, the great empire that Charlemagne had built up, which bid fair to be the inheritor of the old Roman sway, was all broken up, less because he was followed by weaker men who could not hold together in their feeble grasp the elements which he had welded, than because of the inherent weakness of the principle of dividing an inheritance; it was the death of Carloman quite as much as the strength of Charles that made the Empire possible. With the divisions that followed came inevitably the tendency of Europe to break into independent nations, of the Emperor to sink into being merely the King of the Germans, with a shadowy Imperial crown the other side the Alps. Historians continually blame the Emperors for neglecting domestic affairs to meddle in Italy, ignoring the ideal before their eyes; not the rule of a separate homogeneous kingdom, but the overlordship of a congeries of states—German, Swiss, Lombardic, Sicilian, Slav—which, as Charlemagne had conceived it, should have included the whole continent of Europe. Therefore when the Emperor travelled to Italy he was not forsaking his own dominions for a foreign country. The ideal was one Empire, one Church, which should have been conterminous.

German affairs, while the Emperor was beyond the Alps, were administered by the Count Palatine of the Rhine, who exercised a kind of vice-regency; "Stellvertreter des Königs," was his title. But this office did not for some time become hereditary; from the reign of Charlemagne till the middle of the twelfth century it was bestowed now on one, now on another. Occasionally a name rises into prominence, most often in connexion with conspiracy or rebellion. In the time of Otto the Great, Conrad, a prince of the Salic house, was made Count Palatine and Duke of Lorraine. He had large possessions in the Palatinate, much of which he bestowed upon the Church in Worms, Spires, and Mayence. He, like so many others, rebelled against the Emperor, and was overthrown and slain at the battle of Lechfield, in consequence of which much of his property reverted to the Crown. His great-

grandson Conrad was raised to the imperial throne, which brought the Palatinate again into close touch with the empire.

The palaces at Spires, Ladenburg, and Ingelheim were favourite royal residences, and lay in convenient proximity to Worms, where the great gatherings of the Electoral princes took place, then a much larger body than they became afterwards.

Eligible for the imperial dignity, the Count Palatine was, when not the first, the second man in the realm, the Emperor's right-hand and adviser, administrator of the government in his absence, and even holding a kind of power over the Emperor himself. For to him, as first among the lay Electors, belonged the right of summoning assemblies when the conduct of the Emperor was called in question, as well as for choosing an occupant for the vacant throne. The importance of this central part of the German dominions is shown by the fact that to it primarily the Emperor belonged. On Frankish land was the King chosen and crowned, and if not a Frank by birth he must accept Frankish rights, and become a Frank after his election. The first spiritual and the first lay princes of Franconia, the Archbishop of Mayence and the Count Palatine of the Rhine, stood at the head of the German princes: they called the Electoral Assembly. The national right which originally belonged to the whole German people became afterwards narrowed gradually to seven Electors.

In the middle of the twelfth century Conrad von Hohenstaufen, brother of the Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa, united the property in Rhenish Franconia, which he inherited from Henry V., with the office of Count Palatine of the Rhine, together with the Palatinate of Aix-la-Chapelle, which had lapsed, and thenceforward the history of the Palatinate enters on a new phase. The rise of the Hohenstaufen line is so clearly and succinctly set forth in *The Empire and the Papacy*, by Professor Tout, that since the Counts Palatine shared the same origin it will be well to quote it entire.

" Two thousand feet above the sea, on the very summit of one of the northern outliers of the rugged Swabian Alp that separates the valley of the upper Neckar from that of the upper Danube, stood the castle of Hohenstaufen, that gave its name to the most gifted house that ever ruled over the medieval Empire. The hereditary land of the family lay around, and a few miles east, nearer the Neckar valley, lies the village of Weiblingen, from which came the even more famous name of the Ghibelline. The lords of this upland region were true Swabian magnates, who were gradually brought to greatness by their energy and zeal in supporting the Empire. In the darkest days of his struggle with the Church Henry IV. had no more active or loyal partisan than Frederic of Büren or Hohenstaufen, whom he married to his daughter Agnes, and upon whom he conferred the duchy of Swabia." This Friedrich and Agnes had two sons, Friedrich of Swabia and Conrad of Franconia ; they inherited the private possessions of the Salic house, the latter becoming Emperor as Conrad III. Friedrich by his marriage with Agnes of Saarbrück had two sons, the great Friedrich Barbarossa and Conrad the Count Palatine.

The country, which underwent continual changes and mutations of frontier, consisted at one time or another of nine provinces on the banks of the Rhine, Main, and Neckar. *Kraichgau*, on the left bank of the Rhine, comprising the diocese of Spires ; *Gardachgau*, belonging to Worms, between Kraichgau and the Neckar ; *Neckargau*, from Heilbronn northwards to Gundelsheim and Neckarelz ; *Elsengau*, from Neckargau to Neckargemünd ; *Lobdengau*, from the Elsenz to the Rhine, from Wiesloch to Weinheim, containing the Bergstrasse and part of the Odenwald from Neckargemünd to Mannheim ; *Maingau*, the northern part of the Odenwald from Wetterau on the east to Würtemburgisch Franconia ; *Speyergau*, bounded on the east by the Rhine, on the west by the mountains of Westrich, on the north by Wormsgau, and on the south by Weissenburg, divided by the river Sur from Alsace ; *Wormsgau* was bounded north and east by the Rhine, and

on the west by the Nahe; *Nahgau*, with Mayence, was bounded south and east by Wormsgau, north and west by Lorraine. These nine provinces made up the Rhenish Palatinate during most of its existence as a distinct principality.

III

THE HOHENSTAUFEN AND WELF LINES

WITH the accession of Conrad von Hohenstaufen to power the Palatinate becomes a distinct entity and a force to be reckoned with in German politics. When in 1155 his brother, the Emperor Friedrich Barbarossa, made him Count Palatine he was already a person of wealth and importance. From his grandfather, Duke Friedrich of Swabia, he inherited the castle on the Lesser Geisberg, together with the title of Count of the Stahlbühel, which carried with it the chief power in the Rhine province; and from his great-grandfather, the Emperor Henry IV., came, through the Princess Agnes, the overlordship or advowson over the Church property in Worms, Spires, and Mayence, and the rich Abbey of Lorsch. From his mother, another Agnes, he inherited Saarbrück and a good deal of property on the left bank of the Rhine. This, together with his relationship to the great Emperor, made him a power in the land, and Friedrich added to his other honours and dignities the possession of the property forfeited by Count Hermann von Staleck, the disgraced Count Palatine, comprising the Castle of Staleck, Bacharach, and several other strongholds of importance on the Rhine. Thus he united the dominions of the Middle Rhine and the Neckar valley, and became one of the most powerful princes of the Empire.

The story of the fall of his predecessor Hermann is curious, and characteristic of the times. Having incurred the serious displeasure of the Emperor, he was cited to appear before the Reichstag at Worms and condemned, as a "peace-destroyer," not only to abdicate all his dignities, but to bear dogs upon his shoulders in token of disgrace;

and this fantastic punishment so preyed upon his mind that shortly after he fell sick and died.

Conrad resided sometimes at Staleck, but chiefly made his home in his castle on the hill which began to be called Heidelberg, or the hill of the bilberries, for in those days instead of being as now richly wooded it was a wild heathy waste. Other derivations have been imagined for the name, but the device on the old banner preserved in the Rath-Haus till the middle of the fifteenth century, and also on a carved stone in the upper fountain in the Bergstadt, bear out this one: on a blue shield a hill with bilberry bushes, and on the summit a maiden in white bearing a bunch of bilberries in her right hand. Pliny mentions a purple dye used by the Franks as being, not the murex, but a vegetable dye, "vaccinium," supposed to be extracted from the whortleberry or bilberry.

Probably Conrad rebuilt and enlarged the castle, as an old chronicler states that "he built and beautified town and castle where before there was nothing," though there certainly was a fortress of some sort here before his time. Possibly the sentence may refer to the beginning of one on the Jettenbühel just below, where the present magnificent ruin of successive castles stands lifted above the town, since recent excavations have laid bare the foundations of something of far earlier date than anything now standing. Certainly he did much for the town which was beginning to grow up at the castle's foot. It had begun with a few poor fishermen's huts gathered about the chapel of St. Mary of the Wilderness, commemorating the flight of the Blessed Virgin into Egypt, which stood on the site of St. Peter's, the oldest church in Heidelberg. Close to this chapel in 990 a monastery of Augustinian friars had been built, and, as always happened, round the monastery a town grew up, the nucleus of the Altstadt. Conrad added another chapel, dedicated to the Holy Ghost, in the Corn Market on the spot where now stands the choir of the church of that name.

Leger, drawing probably from some old monkish chronicle, gives a charming picture of Conrad's domestic

life in his Heidelberg castle, where, when not at the Emperor's side in his frequent Italian campaigns, he lived with his gentle wife Irmengarde, niece of the Prince Bishop of Würzburg, and his four children, in whose education he took immense interest. Dr. Häusser allows him but two, but Leger enumerates four, two boys, Conrad and Friedrich, and two daughters, Kunigunde and Agnes. The young princes' tutor was Eberhard, son of Wolfgang von Staleck, castellan of Conrad's Rhenish stronghold, a young man noted for his piety and learning. He had been anxious to devote himself to the study of Holy Scripture, but his parents objected, not wishing him to embrace the religious life ; and the father of his pupils also discouraged too much piety, " frömmelei," fearing lest it should check the high spirit of his boys. So day by day Eberhard would steal away across the hills to the lonely summit of the Geisberg, where, on the spot now marked by the tower of the König's Stuhl, he built an altar on which to offer a daily mass, that he might seek a cloistral calm away from the distractions of the Court, and tend a sacred light which was seen from afar always burning.

The two young princesses probably at first shared his instructions, but when they were older their mother induced the Count Palatine to convert the Benedictine monastery at Neuburg, across the river, into a convent where girls of noble birth might receive suitable training. The elder, Kunigunde, subsequently embraced the religious life, and became the first abbess of the Stift-Neuburg. The building, standing a little above the river, about a mile out of the town, has now become private property, but is still known as Stift-Neuburg, and with its wide rooms, long passages, and sunny walled garden, still looks as though it must have been an ideal school for the Princess Palatine and her companions, though it must have seen many changes since her day. Conrad also established a school for well-born lads in the town ; probably the Neckar Schule by the old bridge on the right, where a tablet records that it was the earliest school in Heidelberg. The arches below are of great antiquity.

It was sad that neither of Conrad's sons lived to inherit the Palatinate, and as the Salic law prevented Agnes succeeding in her own right her marriage became a matter of state importance. As a child she had been betrothed to Heinrich the Welf, son of Heinrich called the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Brunswick, in order to cement an alliance between the Hohenstaufen and Welf families.* There had been long rivalry between the two lines represented by Swabia and Bavaria. Heinrich the Black united the duchies of Saxony and Bavaria and married Gertrude, daughter of the Emperor Lothair, which gave him considerable importance. He also claimed the lands of the Countess Matilda in Italy. Supported by his father-in-law, he waged war against the Dukes of Swabia and Franconia, and thus began the struggle of Welf and Waibling, Guelfs and Ghibellines as later they came to be called. After the election of Conrad to the Empire Heinrich was for a time worsted. His son, the Lion, who had obtained great power by subduing the turbulent and as yet un-Christianized tribes to the north and east of his dominions, married Matilda of England, daughter of Henry II. Before their son Heinrich and Agnes von Hohenstaufen were old enough to wed and unite Welf and Waibling, the old Lion had broken out again in rebellion against Friedrich Barbarossa. He was defeated, exiled, and the greater part of his dominions taken from him. This considerably altered the position of the young Heinrich, and the views of the Count Palatine and his nephew Heinrich VI. underwent a change. Agnes was commanded to transfer her affections forthwith to Philip II. of France, who had sued for her hand, and Prince Heinrich saw himself deprived, not only of his patrimony, but of his betrothed bride.

Agnes, however, was a girl of spirit, and had no notion of being transferred like a chattel from one lover to another to suit the political plans of her cousin, and she was abetted by her mother, who knew the character of Philip and how he had treated his divorced wife. Tra-

* *The Empire and the Papacy*, by Tout.

dition (which, however, is ignored by the cautious Häusser) relates that Conrad, who was not a man to allow his will to be crossed, sent Agnes with her mother to a castle on an island in the Rhine near Caub, called the Pfalzgrafenstein, there to remain immured in a kind of honourable captivity till she should submit. Little did he suspect that his gentle wife, roused on behalf of her daughter, contrived to smuggle in the young betrothed and had the marriage celebrated privately by the chaplain. The two had been much together as boy and girl, and had learned to love each other, and Agnes was most likely breaking her heart for her young lover. Irmengarde, who might have feared her husband's and the Emperor's anger, trusted to the logic of accomplished facts, and not in vain; for when after a protracted honeymoon in their island prison the marriage was discovered, Conrad accepted the inevitable and acknowledged the Welf as his heir.

Conrad's chief work as a ruler was to consolidate his power, to gather together his scattered possessions, and restore his doubtful rights, and in doing this he not infrequently came into collision with the Church. Some of the monkish chroniclers actually described him as a "God-forsaken man, dangerous to Church and Cloister"; and already we may detect in him the beginnings of the German spirit of revolt against the excessive power and wealth of the Church. Times were changing, and the extent of Church property, once the defence of civilization, was becoming a menace to German independence, for when strife came, as it was already coming between Pope and Emperor, it was dangerous to have a powerful body of men in the country who owed another allegiance. Still, he was far from being an irreligious man or illiberal; he not only built the chapel already mentioned, but gave richly to the Abbey of Schönau. Nor were the poor and needy neglected; daily seven poor men, on feast days twelve, were fed at the castle and cared for by the saintly Eberhard.

In 1195 Conrad died at his castle at Heidelberg, and was

buried in the Abbey of Schönau, leaving his principality to his son-in-law. His was on the whole a fine character; —a man strong and sturdy, fit for the times he lived in. He was described as short and thick-set, with a fair curly head; brave and warlike, self-controlled and sparing of words, a good man and beneficent, upright and wise. He does not seem to have possessed the charm which made his brother the darling of his people. It is only about the names of well-loved princes that such legends gather as that which represents Barbarossa sitting in a hall beneath the river Seleph in Cilicia, where he met his death, asleep with his head on a marble table, through which his long red beard has grown. But some day, when Germany's need is sorest, the table will break and the old Emperor will come again.

For the most part entire amity prevailed between the half-brothers; Conrad accompanied the Emperor into Italy, supported him in the councils of the Electoral princes, and never forgot that he owed to him his prosperity; but at one time, for reasons on which history is silent, there was a long estrangement, which the Abbot of Lorsch tried in vain to put an end to. At length, however, a reconciliation did take place, and though Conrad was not with the Emperor on that fatal Crusade on the way to which he was drowned, he was supporting him in Germany and collecting forces for him. He transferred his support to Heinrich VI., Friedrich's son and successor.

Conrad was sixty-eight when he died, after a reign of forty years, fruitful in growth and power for his dominions. Of his son-in-law who succeeded him history gives us no very definite impression; of his personal appearance we only learn that he was so tall as to be distinguished in that day of nicknames as "the Long," and his character does not always come out in a very favourable light. Yet there must have been something in him to engage not only the loyal affection of his betrothed, but the support of her mother when on his father's disgrace he fell into undeserved misfortune. He had known many changes and mutations: at the time he was betrothed to Agnes

his father was on the crest of a wave, and on the fall and exile of Heinrich the Lion he was little more than a boy. When on humble submission and solicitation the duchy of Brunswick was regained from Heinrich VI., it was stipulated that the two young Welf princes should accompany the Emperor as hostages when he went to be crowned in Rome. Pope Celestin, who was a relative of the Welf family, obtained before the coronation a promise that the duchy of Saxony should also be restored, but shortly after, on the death of Lothar the eldest, it appeared that the Emperor had no intention of fulfilling the promise to the younger, so Heinrich in great dudgeon left him at Naples. The plague was raging there at the time, but there may have been another reason for his sudden dash homewards, unconnected with either the question of the succession or the fear of infection, for it was just the time when his betrothed was shut up in her island prison, and her mother may well have contrived to convey to him word of how hard pressed her daughter was to wed the King of France. He continued to style himself Duke of Saxony as a protest that he regarded himself as entitled to the dignity, and on the Emperor's return he was acknowledged as Conrad's heir and invested with the title of Count Palatine.

In the last years of the twelfth century a new Crusade was preached, and Heinrich was amongst those who took the Cross. It is easy from our modern standpoint to condemn the Crusades as a foolish waste of blood and treasure, ignoring all that they meant to the mediæval world. To fight for an ideal devoutly believed in was more ennobling than for selfish aggrandizement; to make common cause with other nations and stand shoulder to shoulder with them against a common foe maintained for long the unity of Christendom, and postponed those devastating wars that were on their way; and the check to the advance of the Turks had an importance which we in these days hardly realize. Moreover, the results on trade and on culture were wide and subtle; a man could not travel to the far East and mingle with Greeks, Italians, French-

men, Englishmen, and come back with the narrow views bred in some woodland valley on the Rhine: he brought back with him at least a wider outlook, possibly some oriental learning or a taste for oriental luxury. Heinrich is blamed for alienating much of the property that Conrad had so carefully got together, but possibly he gained a real though imponderable equivalent. Häusser thinks the valuable rights over the Cathedral of Trêves were made over to the Archbishop for funds to fit out the expedition, though, if those authorities are right who place the transaction in the following year, they were more likely given in consideration of the Archbishop's voice in the election of a new Emperor.

'For in 1197 Heinrich VI. died, and as the Empire, following the Roman precedent, was elective, strife and confusion inevitably followed. Had Heinrich the Count Palatine been at home, it was considered the choice would have fallen upon him; but he was away fighting for the Holy Sepulchre, and the opponents of the Hohenstaufen family chose his younger brother Otto; while the adherents of the deceased monarch put forward the latter's brother Philip. Nothing short of civil war could decide the question, and Heinrich hastened home to take his brother's part. Later, however, strife arose between the two touching the paternal inheritance of Brunswick, and Philip availed himself of it to approach Heinrich with both promises and threats. Heinrich allowed himself to be bought over, but he acted with a certain degree of openness; he told Otto that unless he would give up to him the fortresses of Brunswick and Lichtenburg he would go over to his opponent, and meeting a refusal, marched straight away to Philip's camp. This ruined Otto's hopes; he was forced to withdraw his pretensions, and Philip was crowned at Aix in January, 1205, supported by the Count Palatine. Pope Innocent III., who was an ardent supporter of the Welf claim, wrote a very bitter letter of reproach to Heinrich on his forsaking his brother's cause.

Philip did not long survive his accession; he was murdered three years later, and Otto in the end came to the

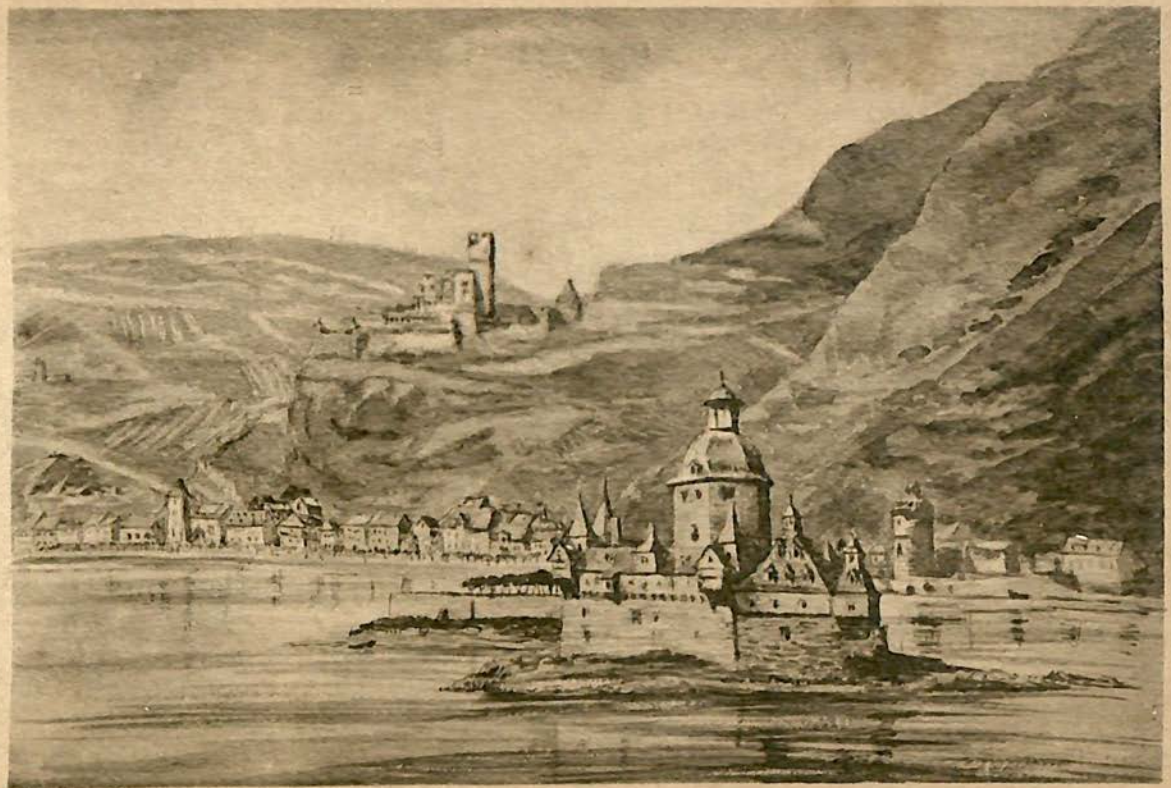
throne. In spite of Heinrich's vacillating conduct, the brothers were soon reconciled, and we hear of the Count Palatine paying a visit to England in the reign of King John to negotiate a loan for his brother's necessities. This is mentioned by Matthew Paris, and also in a letter from King John in Rymer's *Acta Publica*, 1153. He also took Otto's part vigorously when Archbishop Siegfried of Mayence promulgated the Pope's ban in his diocese, and wasted Siegfried's property with fire and sword.

All these imperial concerns, as well as his own duchy of Brunswick, absorbed his interest to the exclusion of the affairs of the Palatinate, so when his only son by Agnes attained his seventeenth year he made over the government to him. After a brief and uneventful reign of three years the younger Heinrich died, and as his marriage with Matilda of Brabant was childless, the property in the Rhenish Palatinate would have been separated from the dignity of the Count Palatine unless a suitable match could be arranged for his sister Agnes, who, like her mother before her, had become heiress of the property, though the Salic law prevented her from inheriting the Electoral rights. On the disgrace of Heinrich the Lion, his dominions had been divided amongst his rivals, and the duchy of Bavaria having been given to Otto von Wittelsbach, his son Ludwig had become one of the most powerful princes of the Empire. He had also given loyal support to Friedrich II., and seemed marked out for the office of Count Palatine. The Emperor therefore bestowed it on him on the death of Heinrich the younger, passing over the claims of Heinrich the Long who still survived, taking it possibly that in relinquishing the government to his son he had formally abdicated. Ludwig, intending to take possession, came to Heidelberg to find the whole city in arms against him, and having gone with but a trifling escort was taken prisoner and confined in the monastery at Schönau. The matter was, however, soon adjusted; he paid a ransom to the irate Heidelbergers, and a marriage was arranged between his son

Otto and Agnes, younger daughter of Heinrich the Welf and Agnes of Hohenstaufen, the elder, Irmengarde, being already married to Hermann of Baden. Thus these two powerful lines became merged in the house of Wittelsbach, one of the greatest families of Germany, and the importance of the Rhenish Palatinate thereby greatly enhanced.

THE PFALZGRAFENSTEIN

From a Drawing by E. Godfrey.



IV

THE HOUSE OF WITTELSBACH

THE position of affairs almost exactly repeated that of the preceding reign; Ludwig, though invested with the title of Count Palatine at the Reichstag at Ratisbon in 1215, administered the Palatinate in the names of his son Otto and the child-bride Agnes, and caused them to sign all acts of importance, though both were but children, and Agnes after her betrothal was sent to Munich for her education.

Ludwig himself was very deeply engaged with the affairs of the Empire; he was, as always, a staunch supporter of Friedrich II., upheld him when his son Heinrich Raspe rose in rebellion against him, and administered the government in conjunction with Archbishop Engelbert during Friedrich's fifteen years' absence in his Italian dominions. When therefore Otto attained man's estate his father was very glad to place the Palatinate entirely in his hands. So at Whitsuntide, 1225, before a great gathering of princes and notables, the young man was girt with his knightly sword and assumed the title of Count Palatine, and on the same occasion his marriage with Agnes was celebrated with great pomp.

He and his bride now took up their abode in the old castle at Heidelberg, and the grant of the ancient fief of the Stahlbühel which belonged to it, together with a stretch of land on the Bergstrasse, which had been a possession of the Hohenstaufen family, was renewed to him by the Bishop of Worms. Ludwig withdrew to his own duchy of Bavaria, and lived at Kelheim, where three years later

he was assassinated while walking on the bridge, in revenge for some private quarrel.

Otto must have been a ruler of some ability, for he won for himself the various titles of the Illustrious, the Kindly, and the Father of the Fatherland. It was unfortunate for the Palatinate that after Ludwig's death he was obliged to devote so much of his attention to his other dominions, for his rights were threatened in Bavaria by powerful and jealous neighbours, while the Palatinate was in peace. Imperial affairs were anything but peaceful; Friedrich II. was continually absent in Sicily and engaged in long contests with the Popes, and meanwhile his rebellious son Heinrich had gained over a strong party in Germany, and Otto found himself hard pressed; his son was taken as a hostage, and a nominal submission extorted from him. But on the return of Friedrich in 1235 the face of affairs was suddenly changed; the conquered Heinrich was given into the hands of the Count Palatine to be kept in safe custody at Heidelberg, and Otto's six-year-old daughter Elizabeth was betrothed to Conrad, the Emperor's second son. Heinrich remained a prisoner for some years, and was later conveyed to Italy, where he died.

Though Otto had inherited a traditional loyalty, he was not always so faithful to the Emperor as his father had been; his relations with Pope Gregory IX. had been very friendly, for the Pope had supported him in a quarrel with the Bishop of Freisingen, in which the Emperor had taken the Bishop's part; and when Albert Beham was sent as Papal Legate into Germany, with full powers of ban and excommunication, Otto received and protected him. His wife Agnes was a very religious woman—"bigoted," according to Dr. Häusser—and she may have been worked on by her confessor to influence her husband. The Ultramontane party were very astute, and knew how to use Otto's devotion to the Church to turn him against the Emperor; he probably was far from realizing what a seed of bitterness and disunion for future years Beham was sowing by his reckless and unjustifiable use of the

Papal Ban. The clergy themselves soon rose in protest against such misuse of spiritual authority. The country was being prepared for revolt more effectually than they guessed by the very men who sought its more complete submission to Rome; but Otto did not grasp the significance of what was happening, and allowed himself to be drawn into a conspiracy with the princes of Bohemia, Poland, and Hungary. Hurt and indignant, when he learned his double dealing, Friedrich sent him a letter of dignified reproach:—

"I learn from letters of Archbishop Eberhard and Duke Friedrich that a Pfaffe (priestling, term of contempt) in the pay of Gregory who calls himself Pope is speaking evil of me, and is received in your towns and castles. You know what crime lies therein. He who insults his prince must die. I and my grandfather raised you and your ancestors from the dust to the highest honour, and you dishonour yourself by such treachery."

This letter must have given Otto pause, for he was a man with a conscience, and he had doubtless been drawn on to go further than he meant. With dismay he saw himself charged with treason at the Reichstag, and in despair he turned to the Pope for protection; but Gregory IX. died and the Legate sank into deserved disgrace, but not before he had helped to open Otto's eyes to his true character by vilifying him in Rome. The Count Palatine cleared himself of complicity by giving up Beham to a violent death in the castle of Conrad von Wasserburg, and returned to his allegiance. When, on the death of Friedrich, Conrad was elected King of the Romans, his marriage with Elizabeth, now seventeen years old, was celebrated: the betrothal had lasted eleven years, in spite of strained relations between the two fathers. It seemed hard that after his almost unpatriotic devotion to the See of Rome Otto should have died under the Papal Ban, and his body was not laid in consecrated ground until twelve years after his death.

He left two sons, Ludwig II., born in the old castle at Heidelberg in 1229, and Heinrich. The weakness of a

divided inheritance was hardly yet grasped, and quarrels soon arose between the brothers about the duchy of Bavaria which they were to rule together. The elder was of a harsh, vindictive nature, which won him the title of the Stern, the younger restless, ambitious, and unyielding; the only road to peace was by dividing the territory. They met at Landshut in 1255, and agreed that Heinrich should take Lower Bavaria, Ludwig Upper Bavaria and the Rhenish Palatinate. This division, in which several of the chief towns and strongholds were enumerated, gives some idea of the extent of the Palatinate at this time. In the Rhine province the Palsgrave was to have the old fortresses of Staleck and Stalberg, the Pfalzgrafenstein (the castle in which Agnes of Hohenstaufen had spent her imprisoned honeymoon), Bacharach, Fürstenberg, Mannebach, Diebach, Heimbach, Rheinhausen, Caub, and other places near; in the old Nahe province, Stromberg and Alzei; on the Hardtgebirge, Neustadt, Winzingen, Wachenheim, and Oggersheim; on the Bergstrasse, Heidelberg, Weinheim; farther off, Wolfsberg, Epstein, Erbach, Thurn, Landskron, Steinberg, Wellersau, and Hillersbach: a splendid collection of valuable properties, but as yet without unity or coherence. Later Counts expended much money and diplomacy in rounding it into a homogeneous state, and Ludwig himself did a great deal towards this end.

It was wonderful that so hot-tempered a man should have preserved his principality in peace, as he did almost throughout his long reign. In his youth his ungoverned passion hurried him into a tragic crime, which went far to wreck his life and cast for years a dark shadow upon it, and the victim was his fair young wife, Marie of Brabant. The old narrative sets the character of Marie before us in a stroke, depicting her playing chess with one of the courtiers, the young Rau-Graf Heinrich von Hirschau, who, emboldened by her gracious friendliness, besought her to address him as *du*, as she did her servants (i.e. gentlemen-in-waiting). Like Browning's Italian duchess, described by her jealous husband,

"She liked whate'er
She looked on, and her looks went everywhere.
The bough of cherries some officious fool
Broke in the orchard for her, the white mule
She rode with round the terrace, all and each
Would draw from her the approving speech
Or blush at least."

Yet she was discreet withal, and evaded the overbold request. After about two years of married life, when they were living in the Castle of Donauwerth, the Count Palatine found himself obliged to travel in haste to Heidelberg to put down some robber bands who were troubling the peace of the country and demanding unauthorized toll from the inhabitants, and he left his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Jerusalem, widow of Conrad, to bear Marie company in his absence. With him rode the Rau-Graf and another young knight, his marshal, who was greatly in his confidence. This young man had also sunned himself in Marie's smiles, and took the freedom to be jealous of the favour shown to the other. Winter came, and Marie, wearying for her husband's return, wrote him a tender letter, beseeching him to hasten back to her. By the same hand she sent a letter to von Hirschau, saying that if he could compass her wish she would grant him the favour he had asked. The messenger being unable to read, she sealed the one letter with red, the other with black; but whether he were faithless or some other hand interposed, the letters were changed, and the one intended for von Hirschau reached the Count Palatine. The marshal, it would seem, had already eased his own jealousy by poisoning the Count's mind with suspicions of wife and friend. Staying for no inquiry, Ludwig instantly jumped to the conclusion that the favour hinted at was a crime against his honour. One blow from his fist stretched the unhappy messenger dead at his feet, and mounting his horse he rode for Donauwerth like a madman. The warden of the castle came out to receive him, and without a word the Count's dagger was plunged in his breast. One of the Countess's ladies, Helika von Brennberg, greeted him on the stairs, to meet a

similar fate, while four others he flung from the battlements.

Striding into his wife's presence, he bade her prepare for instant death. And this was the home-coming to which Marie had looked forward with such fond and joyful hopes. In her terror and dismay she probably did not even guess of what she was accused. In vain her piteous cries for mercy; in vain his sister's horrified pleading; mad with rage, he would neither hear nor wait, but ordered that she should be led into the courtyard and beheaded. An awful moment came when the Rau-Graf von Hirschau arrived too late, and by the production of the other letter proved the truth of his explanation that her request had been that he would bring her husband back to her, and as a reward had promised the trifling favour he had begged.

They said that Ludwig's hair turned snow-white that night. For a time he tried to bury his sorrow and remorse in the cloister of Fürstenfeld, which he founded in expiation. After a time his duty to his country called him forth into the world again; but he was a changed man. Men still called him Ludwig the Stern, but of his frantic rages we never hear again.

There was need for a strong man at the head of the German princes, for after the death of Friedrich II. the affairs of the Empire had fallen into frightful confusion. His son Conrad who succeeded was never crowned, and died within four years; and Conradin, who was but a boy, did not inherit Germany, but only the kingdom of Naples. In asserting his right to this he fell into the hands of Charles of Anjou and was brutally murdered. A new election to the Empire became necessary, and the candidates were many. Ludwig would have seemed marked out for the position as head of one of the most powerful princely families of Germany, Welf and Wittelsbach meeting in him; he was both a strong man and a capable administrator, and Häusser assumes that it was the crime with which he was stained that prevented the choice falling upon him; but considering that no steps

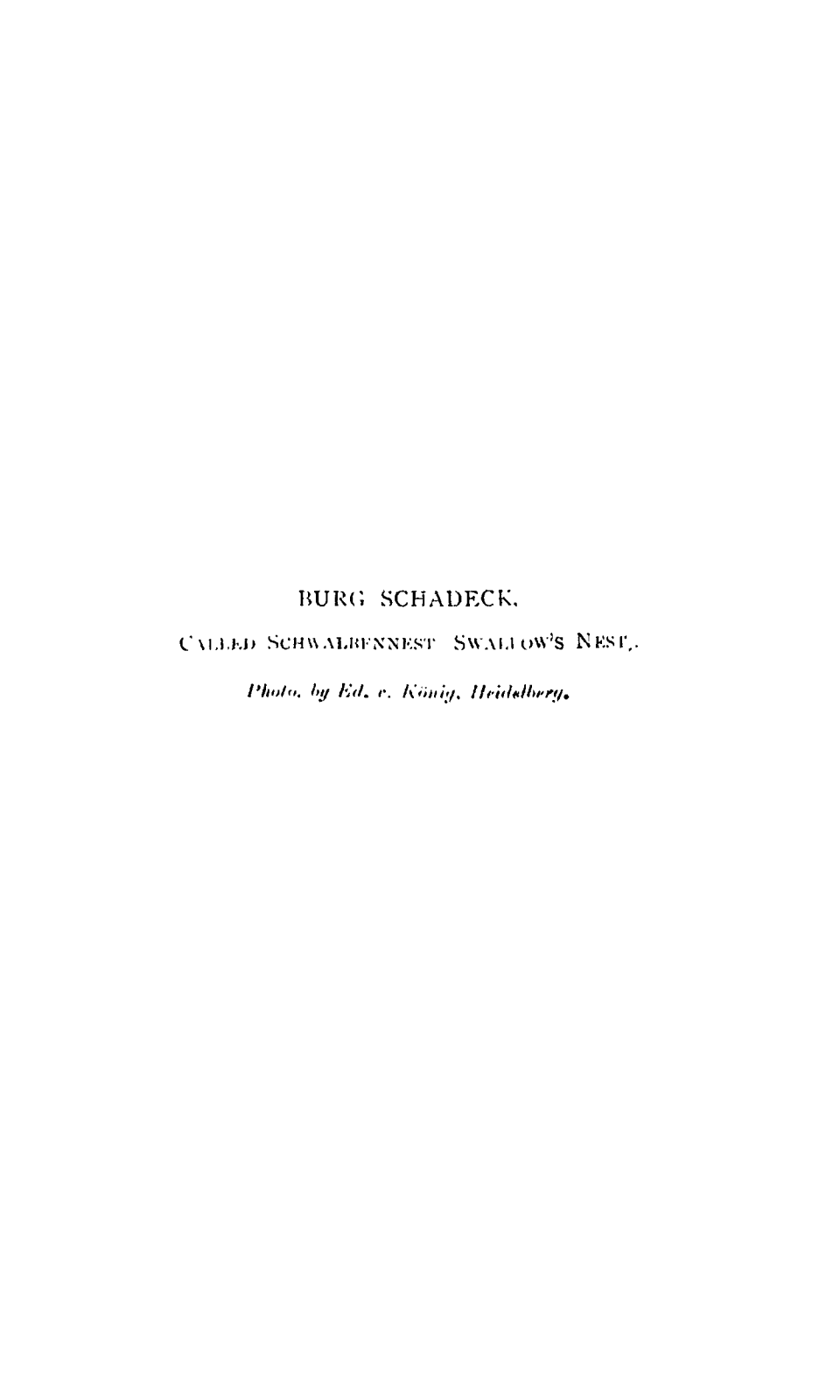
were taken even by the family of the murdered Marie to avenge her—indeed, later a marriage engagement was entered into between the two families—it seems more probable that public opinion would have entirely justified his action had she been guilty, for the right of a man to avenge his honour was held indisputable, and he would only be blamed for a too hasty credence. Possibly his white hair and the seclusion in which for some time he lived may have made men hold him unfitted for the post, so Germany looked abroad for a supreme ruler. First William of Holland, then an Englishman, Richard Duke of Cornwall, wore the crown of Charlemagne—mere "shadow-kings," as Häusser calls them, kings who purchased their election by heavy bribes. Bribed or not, Ludwig was always friendly with the English Richard, and as *Stellvertreter* or *locum tenens* was a far more effective ruler in Germany than the usually absent king. Neither of these ever attained the imperial crown.

Through these two reigns and the interregnum that followed, during which the administration was in the hands of the Count Palatine, the power of the princes and the higher nobility increased enormously. All rule was divided between an oligarchy of princes, the aristocracy of the Free Towns, and republics of robber knights whose right resided in the mailed fist. For a time the princes preferred to have it so, and made no haste to appoint a head over themselves, but at length even they became sick of anarchy. Then arose the man for the times, Rudolf of Hapsburg, and he became a real Emperor such as had hardly been known since Barbarossa's day. It speaks well for Ludwig that no jealousy or personal claim interfered with his whole-hearted support of the new Emperor, and he was recognized by Rudolf as "a pillar of his government." Their alliance was cemented by a marriage, Mechtild, the Emperor's daughter, becoming Ludwig's third wife; he had been married secondly to Anne of Silesia, who died in 1271.

After the death of Rudolf his son Albrecht was proposed by Ludwig, but the combination in favour of Adolf

of Nassau was too strong for him, and the latter was chosen in 1291. A curious little incident nearly got Ludwig into difficulties with the new Emperor. As the latter sailed down the Rhine for his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle the officials at Bacharach, which belonged to the Palatinate, demanded the customary Rhine toll, and on its being refused fired on the Emperor's ship. It was urged in defence that it was a blunder, and they were unaware that it was the royal ship, and indeed Ludwig could hardly have authorized so stupid an attack; but of course it was easily represented as a plot to murder the Emperor elect, and the Count Palatine was nearly deprived of his Rhenish provinces. He was, however, in the end permitted to clear himself by a public declaration of his innocence and loyalty to Adolf.

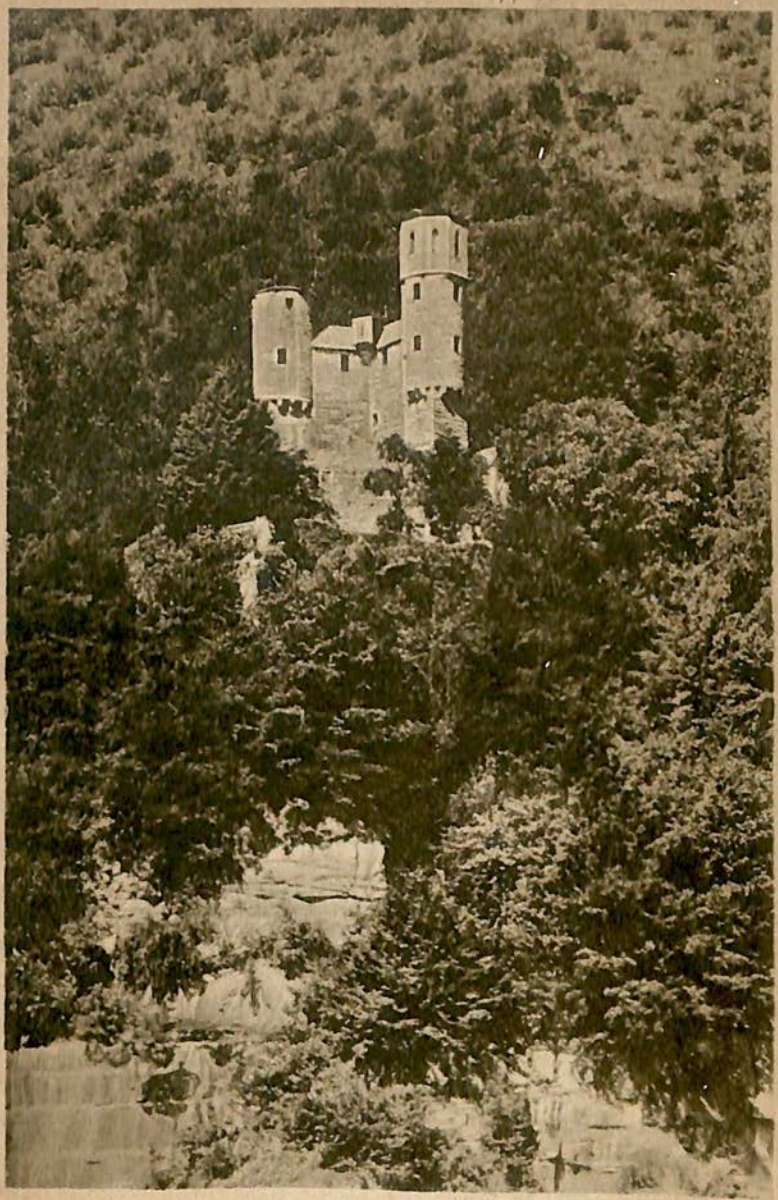
A few years later, on 3 February, 1294, he died in the same room of the old castle in which he had been born. His body was carried in solemn procession from Heidelberg to Fürstenfeld, the abbey which he had founded in memory of the murdered Marie. He was one of the best rulers Heidelberg ever had; he rounded his territory both by purchase and by peaceful negotiation, and greatly enhanced the political power of the Palatinate. In exchange for his support of his nephew's claims in Italy he got into his own hands the Upper Palatinate with the chief town of Amberg, which had been his sister Elizabeth's dowry, and along the Bergstrasse he greatly increased his possessions. Quite early in his reign he showed his wisdom and foresight by entering into friendly relations with the towns which were growing in wealth and importance. The famous Hanseatic League, founded originally for mutual defence against pirates, had become a powerful body with branches in every trading centre, and made Germany the greatest merchant power of the Middle Ages. It was now dividing into four branches, and the Rhenish confederation, with its chief centre at Cologne, was in close touch with the Palatinate. Rulers were apt to regard the growing power of the towns with jealousy and suspicion, and it took some generations yet



BURG SCHADECK.

CALLED SCHWALBENNEST SWALLOW'S NEST.

Photo. by Ed. v. König, Heidelberg.



before they learned to look on them as a possible counterpoise against the pretensions of the feudal barony.

Ludwig's strong hand did much to put down the robber barons and turn them into a useful defence. All up the valley of the Neckar the hills were studded with fortresses, many of which remain to this day in a more or less ruined condition, the owners of which led an isolated and independent life, owing allegiance to no man, exacting toll from travellers by river or road, harrying the country, and pursuing furious quarrels amongst themselves. At Neckarsteinach there were no less than four, all belonging to the Steinach family; one, perched on a crest commanding the bend of the river and called the Swallows' Nest, looks like a veritable eyrie of these wild vultures. One of the early Counts von Steinach won for himself the title of Landschad or harrier of the country, a title which his successors bore and handed on as though it had been one of honour. Just opposite, the Counts of Dilsberg, or as the old maps candidly put it, Diebsburg (Thief's Castle), had their fortress crowning a steep hill, and a little higher up Hirschhorn, Zwingenberg, and Minneburg, set thick, must have been a terror to peaceable folk who had need to pass that way. Travelling, indeed, would have been practically impossible but for the custom that grew up of obtaining a safe-conduct from the local power on payment of a toll, under which the traveller was permitted to find entertainment at certain houses in the village over the door of which the knight's shield with his device was hung. This is considered to have been the origin of the sign over an inn door. The principal inn at Neckarsteinach is still called the "Harp," which was the crest of the Steinach family. Ludwig put an end to most of these disorders, and turned many robber barons into valuable adherents by the judicious bestowal of offices and dignities in his little Court, which was modelled on that of the Emperor Rudolf. Blikker von Steinach, a name which frequently reappears in the annals of the family, was celebrated in the verse of Gottfried von

Strassburg in the thirteenth century, and held some official position in Ludwig's Court.

Twice during this reign Heidelberg was nearly destroyed by fire, and once by flood, and on each occasion Ludwig was most generous in aiding the poor inhabitants to rebuild their homes. His own castle also suffered from fire, though it could not have been, as some historians asserted, utterly destroyed, since it was there that he died. He probably rebuilt a portion of it, and may very likely have begun the earliest of the successive palaces on the hill below. Some have attributed the oldest work to Ludwig the Kelheimer, or even earlier; but the balance of probability inclines to its having been begun by Ludwig II. He was the last who lived and died in the old castle on the Lesser Geisberg.

BOOK II

THE BUILDERS

RUINS OF HEIDELBERG CASTLE

After a Sketch by C. de Graimberg.

I

JEALOUS BROTHERS

WITH Rudolf I. began the long line of Counts Palatine who have left their record in the magnificent pile —now, alas! of ruins—which has its lordly seat just above the old town, and gives to Heidelberg its unique glory. Though he may not have been its actual beginner, his name is the first which is definitely associated with it, and from this time onward till the days of demolition scarcely one of his descendants failed to add something for strength or beauty, so that it stands now, a history in stone, extending over the best part of four centuries, closely interwoven with the personal history of the Electors, and with the greater history of Germany, in which they bore no inconspicuous part.

The marvellous thing is that it is so diverse, yet so essentially one: the severe plainness of the early buildings contrasted with the rich Renaissance architecture of Otto Heinrich or the splendid façade of Friedrich IV.; the groups of towers of every shape, the huge solid round of the Thick Tower, the heavy foursquare of the Gate Tower, the lofty octagonal Belfry, the wonderful vaulted remains of the Cleft Tower — all make one picture. Happily, great as were the changes in architecture from century to century, the material used was always the same—a warm red sandstone, lending almost a sunset glow, and keeping the whole in one harmonious group seen against the background of deep green climbing woods.

The hill, which is only some 250 feet above the river, and considerably below the level of the old castle, stood between two towns, the old town of Heidelberg, which

had grown up round the Augustinian Priory, near the present Ludwig's Platz, and extended down to the old bridge and along the river's bank to the west, and Schlierbach to the eastward, where the brook that rises at the Wolfsbrunnen runs into the Neckar. In early days this hill was called the Jettenbühel, for which two derivations are given. Thomas Hubertus Leodius, who wrote a most fascinating biography of Friedrich II., one of the characteristic figures of the Renaissance, ascribes it to the legend of a witch or prophetess, Jetta, who anciently had her abode in the wild solitudes of the heathy hill, and from the window of her hut used to pronounce oracles to those who sought her guidance. Her last prophecy was that the hill should one day be crowned with palaces, and should be a centre of light and learning, a prophecy which has been abundantly fulfilled. Her end was tragic; she was torn in pieces by a wolf in the forest on the site of the Wolfsbrunnen.

Another tradition derives it from the name of Jutha, wife of Anthyses, Duke of the Franks in 510, who was supposed to have built a castle here on the site of an earlier Roman one, and also a church at Schlierbach. Leger mentions in his *Guide* that when the extensive building operations of Ludwig V. were in progress some discoveries were made of very ancient work mingled with portions of Roman masonry; but he gives the date 1549, which places it in the time of Ludwig's brother Friedrich II., who built the Saalbau, between which and the Friedrich's Bau the interesting and important discoveries of 1889 were made. There is a record of some early castle or stronghold on this hill held under the Abbey of Lorsch, as the later castle also was. In the beginning of his reign Rudolf seems to have made his home chiefly at Wiesloch, a short distance from Heidelberg.

Throughout the history of Heidelberg two causes of strife and disaster continually present themselves, one affecting the development of the Palatinate itself, the other the condition of Germany, in which its welfare was bound up, and both tending to anarchy, the principle of

the equal claim of many sons to the father's inheritance, and the custom derived from Roman times that the Empire was elective. A strict law of primogeniture may have its drawbacks, but at least it makes for orderly development and steady continuity. The lack of it led in the Palatinate either to the continual division and subdivision of territory, or to the attempt of two brothers or uncle and nephew to govern jointly, an attempt foredoomed to failure unless one would consent to efface himself. The old principle of the chieftainship of a tribe or clan, with the unquestioned succession of the head of the family, implying rather responsibility to be undertaken than possession to be enjoyed, had come to be supplanted by the habit of regarding the position of ruler as conveying personal property, out of which a man had the right to provide for all his sons, or even leave it by will as he pleased.

The case of the Empire stood on different grounds. The theory, of course, was that as the Emperor was the lay head of Christendom the office could not reside in any one family; but the results in practice were even worse, for on the demise of the Emperor the throne became actually vacant, though his son or brother might be proposed for election, and often was. During the interregnum the government of the country devolved on the Count Palatine, who also, as head of the lay members of the Electoral College, had to summon the assembly before whom rival claims were laid. The opening this gave for corruption, barter of privilege, schemes of mischievous ambition, may be easily conceived, and doubtless was the cause of the gradual ruin and decay of the Empire. Moreover, it obviously laid Germany far more open to the interference of the Pope in temporal affairs than would otherwise have been the case. These two causes made the reign of Rudolf one of strife and disaster.

Ludwig the Stern had three sons, but only two survived him. Marie left no child, and the second wife, Anna of Silesia, had one son who was killed in a tournament at Nuremberg on the very eve of his marriage; so there re-

mained only the two sons of Mechtild, daughter of Rudolf of Hapsburg, Rudolf and Ludwig, to divide the inheritance. The younger was but a boy of twelve, so Rudolf, then in his twentieth year, undertook the government of the Palatinate, leaving to his mother the Swabian portion of the property to administer on her younger son's behalf.

Through the record of quarrels, jealousies, and misunderstandings it is easy to see that the relation between mother and son was a very unhappy one; for Mechtild bore herself rather like a stepmother than a real mother to her own eldest son. The younger was evidently her favourite, perhaps because he was young enough to be still under her control. For not improbably the daughter of the great Hapsburg Emperor was a woman who loved to rule and was capable of doing it well; certainly the part of the property under her management was far better administered than that under Rudolf's. Had she sought to guide and advise with tact and tenderness she might have helped him; but she was a woman of a domineering spirit who wished to hold the reins still in her own hands, though her son was come to man's estate and would not brook dictation. He too, though he had not inherited the unusual powers, had inherited a good deal of the unbending spirit of father and grandfather, and chose to think for himself—not always wisely.

He, perhaps out of opposition to his mother, cast in his lot with the newly elected Emperor, Adolf of Nassau, whom Ludwig had been obliged unwillingly to support, and espoused Adolf's third daughter, another Mechtild. This was a terrible affront, as the rival claimant was his mother's brother Albrecht, and he not unnaturally had counted on the support of both his sister's sons. That the two Counts Palatine should be arrayed in rival camps was deplorable, and the Palatinate itself was torn with dissensions. Mechtild threw herself vehemently into her brother's cause, and carried off her younger son to Vienna for his education, where he would be of course entirely under Hapsburg influence. It was natural she should like to bring up her boy amongst her own people, and

Vienna was at that time a centre of cultivation and refinement.

For a time there was an attempt at reconciliation; Rudolf joined his mother and brother at Vienna and remained for some time, but matters were far from being harmonious. Those about the Court took advantage of the want of confidence in the Palatinate family to sow suspicion and dissension between the brothers as well as between mother and son, and it was not long before worse quarrels broke into flame. There was a certain Otto Krondorfer, a man of low origin, who was much trusted by Mechtild, and had been raised to the position of Administrator in Ludwig's dominions; he had unbounded influence over the boy, and found it to his interest to fan the discord. Rudolf was on the point of leaving Vienna in wrath when the man's duplicity was unmasked, and an action was brought against him. Terrible was the vengeance that overtook him; according to the savage customs of those days his condemnation was that his tongue should be cut off and his eyes put out.

During his stay in Vienna Rudolf was very nearly wrought upon to transfer his allegiance to his uncle; he was, however, held back by the representations of one of his most trusted advisers, Kurt Schluder. He did, however, try to mediate between the two claimants, and induce Adolf to withdraw his pretensions for the sake of the peace of the Empire. His attempt was quite in vain; he was not of the stuff of which mediators are made. He had neither age, discretion, nor weight to be listened to on so important a matter, nor make his judgment felt, and hostilities broke out again all the more quickly for his well-meant if not well-judged interference. He saw he must once more take one side or the other, and threw in his lot with his father-in-law.

It was a bitter thing to him to find his brother in command of the troops which were wasting the Palatinate, and, when after the battle of Donnersburg, in which Adolf lost his life, he came a fugitive to Heidelberg, to be compelled to flee thence and seek a refuge in Bavaria. De-

feated and humiliated, he saw himself obliged to accept Ludwig as co-regent on the decision of his uncle, the successful claimant of the Empire, and one may suppose there could be little peaceful or fruitful administration in a country governed by two jealous rivals thus yoked together.

Whether this humiliation exasperated his feeling towards his mother, or whether she had really laid herself open to the accusation, it is hard to say, but at this time Kurt Schluder brought to his knowledge ugly rumours as to her relations with Conrad Ottlinger, who was her chief adviser and right-hand man. Rudolf seemed only too ready to believe; he started at once to besiege the castle of Schildberg, near Aicha, where Ottlinger was staying with her and her son Ludwig. The castle fell into his hands; he made Ottlinger prisoner, and carrying off his mother and brother, compelled her to abdicate her rights and property in exchange for a small pension. She escaped and appealed to her brother, to which move Rudolf replied by the execution of her favourite. Albrecht ordered the restoration of her property; but as Rudolf was not called to account for the death of Ottlinger, her honour was not entirely cleared. Whether innocent or guilty, the cruelty of exposure at the hands of her own eldest son seems inexcusable. The shock to her health, already weakened by many toils and cares, was too great to be borne; she sank into ill-health, and died not long after, in the summer of 1304.

Once seated securely on the throne, Albrecht soon showed he had no intention of redeeming the promises by which he had purchased the support of the electors, and he roused special indignation by trying to annex to the imperial exchequer the Rhine toll, which was an ancient right of Cologne, Trêves, Mayence, and the Palatinate. This was so rich a possession that it had passed into the popular saying, "Had I the Rhine toll!" as one might say, "Had I the riches of Golconda!" This attempted infringement of their rights caused a fresh combination against Albrecht, headed by Archbishop Eberhard of

Mayence, one of those worldly prelates who exercised a very unspiritual power in the affairs of the Empire, and who cynically observed that he had plenty more emperors in his pocket.

The combination did not succeed in unseating Albrecht, though without doubt it rendered him still less friendly than before to the Count Palatine. For meanwhile it appeared that under the joint rule of the brothers the affairs both of Bavaria and of the Palatinate were getting into a hopeless condition; Rudolf never had been a good administrator, and Ludwig had probably always relied on his mother, so Albrecht decided to keep both nephews in attendance on his own person, and appointed regents in their dominions to bring matters, especially financial, into some sort of order. Whether this arrangement would have worked satisfactorily there was hardly time to show, for shortly after making it Albrecht died.

Thereupon of course fresh troubles began; the Wittelsbach brothers would fain have been candidates, little as they had shown themselves fitted to rule, but the choice fell upon Heinrich of Luxemburg, and Rudolf hastened to cement an alliance in the usual way by asking the hand of the chosen Emperor's nine-year-old daughter for his eldest son. The reign of Heinrich was but brief, and on his death a Hapsburg and an anti-Hapsburg stepped into the field. Ludwig having promised his support to the friend of his boyhood, Friedrich of Austria, Rudolf, who had also promised him his, transferred his interest to Duke Leopold. Before anything was decided a third candidate was put forward in the person of Ludwig himself, who considered himself thereby absolved from his promises to Friedrich. Ludwig simply bought his election, paying the greedy Archbishop of Mayence 10,000 marks, together with the towns of Weinheim, Lauterbach, and Hemsbach, for his vote.

Rudolf did his best to hinder his brother's success, but found himself outnumbered and compelled to acknowledge him, which he did ungraciously with an undercurrent of revolt, and presently, after a hollow truce, was

discovered in an attempt to undermine him. Perhaps Ludwig used his brother's treachery as a pretext to avenge the sorrows of his mother, for he acted mercilessly; sick, impoverished, and helpless, Rudolf was driven from his dominions, and died in exile in the year 1319. Some said he sought a refuge in England, always hospitable to the unfortunate; but he could not have found a very quiet harbour there in the distracted days of Edward II.

For the Palatinate his reign was a most unfortunate one; wasted by war, impoverished by misgovernment, diminished in extent, it had lost all the advantages gained by the wise rule of Ludwig the Stern. Yet the new castle grew and was fortified. Tradition used to place the Rudolf's Bau, as the earliest building was called, on the site later occupied by the Library, but this has been discovered by recent investigations to be entirely an error; not only is no trace of it to be found there, but the portions of old walls, foundations, and a window discovered during the restoration works between the palaces of Friedrich II. and Friedrich IV., place it beyond a doubt that this was the position of the first building. Two points are still left doubtful—who commenced it, and whether the great König Saal or royal banqueting hall, so often referred to, stood here or on the site of the existing one, having been merely rebuilt by Ludwig V., whose marks and dates are found there, in the course of his extensive restorations.*

The habitation of Rudolf undoubtedly occupied the position of the Saal Bau in the north-east corner of the courtyard, facing north and south. The masonry discovered belongs to so early a date that many experts are inclined to place it as far back as Conrad von Hohenstaufen, while others ascribe it to Ludwig the Kelheimer. The probability seems to be that some stronghold stood here from still earlier times, but that the building of this dwelling was begun by Ludwig the Stern, very likely at the time the old castle was so much damaged by fire, and was merely completed for habitation by Rudolf, whose

* Publications of Schloss Verein.

name it bore. Rudolf himself does not seem to have inhabited it till the last ten years of his reign, for the first mention of it occurs in 1308, when, as Volkmar, Abbot of Fürstenfeld relates, he rode with his Court to Heidelberg to take up his abode there, having previously resided at Wiesloch.* In 1313 we find him receiving a deputation of townsmen in the great hall, and from this time on a mention of Heidelberg Castle may be taken to mean the lower castle on the Jettenbühel. Standing so much more conveniently for town and river, 400 feet below the other castle, the new seemed rather a home to dwell in than a fort to hold against the enemy, and it is sad that its builder knew so little peace or quiet home life. After his death his widow, Mechtild of Nassau, returned there with her three beautiful boys, whom she placed under the guardianship of her cousin, John of Nassau. She did her best to preserve their rights, and found her brother-in-law not minded to deal harshly with them. Perhaps, as the story says, he was struck with the beauty and noble bearing of the lads, and said, "Why should they bear their father's sins? The father indeed acted against me, but not the children." Or perhaps he was wise enough to see that it was far more for an Emperor's interest to have a powerful Elector Palatine on his side than to possess the land himself, so he governed some years on their behalf with the understanding that they should succeed when old enough, and permitted them to reside at Heidelberg with their mother until her death.

Adolf, the eldest, died in 1327, leaving a young son, and Rudolf and Ruprecht waited for some time for their inheritance, being required to accompany their uncle into Italy. Ruprecht, the younger of the two, grew restive; he was not of so patient a nature as his brother, and was almost drawn into dangerous intrigues with the Papal party; but at length, by the Treaty of Pavia in 1329, their rights were fully acknowledged and the Palatinate placed under the joint government of the two brothers and their nephew Ruprecht, Adolf's little son.

* *Führer für Fremde*, Dr. K. A. Leger.

There were three main portions enumerated; the Lower Palatinate on the Rhine; the Hohenstaufen property, comprising the Bergstrasse and the Odenwald with Heidelberg, its upper and lower castles separately mentioned; and the Upper Palatinate, with the chief town of Amberg. The remainder of the property reverted to the Bavarian line in the person of Ludwig.

II

A TRIPLE REIGN

CERTAINLY nothing could have seemed to promise worse for the stability of the Palatinate—shaken, impoverished, and diminished as it had been by the quarrels of the two brothers—than the agreement by which Rudolf's two younger sons and infant grandson were to share the government; yet never were any sixty years of its history more productive of good than those during which the arrangement lasted. And that because of the personality which so often discounts calculation in all human affairs. It was neither the eldest nor the rightful heir, but Ruprecht, like the younger brother of the old fairy tales, who proved to be the strong ruler, and in whose hand all things prospered: Ruprecht, the finest-looking, the most gifted of the three handsome brothers. He had already shown himself the most independent, not bending so easily as his brother Rudolf to the will of his uncle Ludwig, the Emperor; but he possessed wisdom as well as firmness; he had tact and far-sightedness, and saw that it was infinitely more for the good of his country that he should work in harmony with the highest power in the realm than fight for his own hand. So as he grew older he more and more supported the imperial power, and what he would never have gained by force he won by diplomacy.

He was twenty, his brother twenty-three, when they entered on their joint inheritance, and their nephew being but a baby of three, the two formed a league to govern in concert, not to alienate any of their lands, and either to be the heir of the other in default of male issue. Nine years later, however, came the inevitable division, Rudolf,

as the elder, retaining the Electoral dignity and the Rhenish Palatinate, and the two Ruprechts taking the Upper Palatinate and the Neckar valley with Heidelberg as their share. This may have made for peace, and though they divided their actual spheres of government, they seem to have worked in harmony in public affairs.

In 1338 a very important meeting was held at Rhense, a hamlet on the left bank of the Rhine, at a point where the territories of the four Rhenish Electors met. Here a few years later Karl IV. erected the famous Königstuhl as a fortified place of assembly. This meeting was called to consider the claim of the Pope to be the sole source of the authority of the Emperor. The meeting ruled that it was from the Electors, acting in the name of the whole German people, that the Emperor derived his right. This might have held good as regarded his preliminary position as German King, but they went a step further and affirmed his election gave him the right to assume the style of Emperor before he had received the crown of the Holy Roman Empire at the hands of the Pope. In this matter the two Counts Palatine supported their uncle, in spite of the efforts of the French party and of the anti-Pope Clement to win them over, and in recognition of their services Rudolf's title to the electoral voice was secured to him entirely instead of being exercised alternately with Bavaria, as the Treaty of Pavia had provided, and also his position as supreme Judge " without appeal " (de non evocando) was confirmed. The Rhense declaration was followed by one at Frankfort about three weeks later, to the effect that Councils being above Popes, the Pope could not be above the Emperor, who derived his authority from God through the Electors.

Not many years before his death the Emperor, as he styled himself, though never acknowledged by the Pope as more than King of the Romans, paid a visit to his two nephews at Heidelberg when on his way to Frankfort. He with his train of knights spent several days in the new castle, and according to the accounts in the old chronicles, the great hall was the scene of much feasting and merri-

ment, and wine was liberally poured out for the guests "in true Palatinate fashion," though the days of the Great Tun were not yet. Ruprecht, who was great in all knightly exercises, loved jousting, and it is very probable that tournaments were held on this occasion, though there is no definite mention of them in the "Limburg Chronicle," from which this account of the festivities is derived, before Easter, 1359, when a celebrated one was held, and another the following year, probably for Carnival or Mid-Lent. It is so hilly round the castle that there could hardly have been level space sufficient in the grounds, and they most likely took place in some open place beyond the town, not improbably where the Anlage broadens out and the hills give back towards the south-west. The Herren Garten, with its Tournier House, marked on maps of rather later date, probably already stood on this spot.

When the Emperor left, his two nephews rode with him to Frankfort to be present at an assembly of princes before which Ruprecht had been cited to appear and answer for his share in a quarrel with the Archbishop of Mayence. The gentler Rudolf had always been his uncle's favourite, and it was to him that the advantages in reward for their joint support at Rhense were secured, and though Ruprecht was not the man to yield to an unworthy jealousy of the elder, he must have felt indignant when he found that in return Rudolf had promised to make Ludwig's sons his heirs to the prejudice of his brother, and in defiance of their agreement, and had appointed Engelhardt von Hirschhorn regent of the Palatinate in case of his death. Ruprecht would not make a breach with his brother, nor did he entirely withdraw his support from the Emperor; but a sense of injury no doubt rankled, for he appears to have been drawn into some intrigue with the Luxemburg party and left Frankfort secretly and suddenly, fearing lest, should judgment go against him in the matter of the Archbishop, he might lose his liberty. The matter might have gone to very serious lengths, but Ludwig happily was wise enough to

see that Ruprecht might be made a valuable friend or a dangerous foe, so he reversed the sentence he had pronounced against him, and won him back to his cause.

After Ludwig's death in 1347 the Wittelsbach brothers agreed in their resistance to the Papal candidate, joining with Ludwig of Brandenburg and the Archbishop of Mayence. At a meeting of Electors at Oppenheim some proposed one of the Counts Palatine, and Ruprecht would have been an excellent choice, but neither felt strong enough to sustain the dangerous honour, and the imperial crown was offered to Edward III. of England. For a moment it seemed as though the great Empire of the old Roman days was going to be revived; for Edward was not only a powerful prince, but he held half France and claimed the whole, and, hemming it in with the dominion of Germany, might have made himself master of Europe. But the chance was missed; the English Parliament objected, Edward declined the risk, and the choice fell upon a puppet, Günther von Schwartzburg, in opposition to the Luxemburg candidate, Karl of Bohemia. Rudolf on this occasion left the exercise of the electoral vote to his brother and supported his choice of Günther for a time; then he was won over to Karl's party, and induced to bind himself to him by giving him his daughter Anna to wife. Whether Ruprecht consented to this transaction or no we do not learn, though later he became the closest friend of Karl of Bohemia. Günther's hopes were now completely overthrown; he saw that Karl was too strong for him, and a civil war was only averted by his voluntarily withdrawing his claim, soon after which he died under rather suspicious circumstances—a "zweideutiger Tod" is Häusser's expression, implying that he either put an end to his own life or was helped out of the world.

The country had escaped the curse of civil war, but had suffered most terribly from the plague which in 1348 swept across the south of Europe, leaving desolation behind it. The superstitious fanaticism of the populace fastened the guilt upon the unfortunate Jews, whom they had little cause to love, and they accused them of poison-

ing the wells. The notion took firm hold of panic-stricken minds, and the Jews were massacred without mercy. Immense numbers fled from Worms, Spires, and other places near to take refuge in Heidelberg, where Ruprecht had from the Emperor the right of protecting them. This right had, of course, been granted as a source of income, implying also a right to tax them in return for the protection; but Ruprecht's humanity made him not only give the poor fugitives a secure asylum, but provide them with a hospital and burying-ground of their own, and impose fines and punishments on any citizen who should molest them. The burying-ground still remains, just above the Klingel Thor. Engelrad von Hirschhorn also extended protection to them and gave some of them a refuge at Sinsheim.

Rudolf, though not old—he was only forty-seven when he died—was now in very failing health, suffering from gout, and it is surmised, from his name of Cœcus, nearly if not quite blind, and he retired to Neuburg, leaving the sole administration to his brother. He had fortunately no child but Anna, so on his death the two Ruprechts obtained the whole Palatinate, and Anna the same year dying childless her dowry also reverted to them.

The triple reign so far had diminished the extent of the territory, and would have done so still more seriously had not Anna's death restored her portion. Some small additions had been made; Weinheim which had been pledged was recovered, and Schriesheim, with the castle of Strahlenburg, purchased from the knight Siegfried von Strahlenburg. Karl was very reluctant to give up his wife's dowry, though it had been expressly stipulated in the Treaty of Pavia that none of the property of the Palatinate could be alienated; moreover, he claimed a heavy sum for the ransom of the young Ruprecht, who had been made prisoner by the Saxons in the war with the false Waldemar, who had laid claim to Brandenburg, and also a large debt owing to him by Rudolf, and thereby got possession of several important castles and towns in the Upper Palatinate. These losses Ruprecht eventually made good, and in the meantime obtained from the

Emperor the restoration of the valuable Rhine toll and the confirmation of his electoral rights, which by the Treaty of Pavia were to have been shared with Bavaria.

Ruprecht the Younger was now of full age to claim his rights over the Palatinate, being the son of the elder brother; but he seems to have had no ambition to do so, and been well content to leave affairs in the capable hands of his uncle. He had been brought up by him from babyhood, and probably fully recognized his ability and also the important fact that his personal friendship with the Emperor rendered the position of the Palatinate doubly secure. An agreement was therefore entered into by which Ruprecht I. was acknowledged sole ruler, and the inheritance on his death secured to Ruprecht II., the uncle giving a solemn undertaking to remain unmarried, that there should be no son of his to contest the claim. This being settled, Ruprecht the Younger retired to the Upper Palatinate and made his home at Amberg, which came to be the recognized portion of the heir.

The strong friendship which existed between Ruprecht the Elder and the Emperor Karl was an important factor in the situation; it was more than political alliance that bound them together, so matters which might have hopelessly estranged allies were able to be adjusted between two who loved each other too well to quarrel. During the Emperor's absence Ruprecht was regent or viceroy of the Empire (so to translate Reichs-Vicar); an office which, though frequently bestowed, was not an inalienable right of the Elector Palatine, as was the regency during an interregnum, and in the existence of bad terms between Emperor and Elector had been discontinued.

On Karl's return from Italy the two kept Christmas together in Nuremberg, and probably on this occasion concerted many of the provisions of the famous Golden Bull, whereby the rights of the electorate were signed and sealed. The advantages of this Deed were chiefly to the Electors. For the Empire at large it settled doubtful questions and closed old sources of strife; but in asserting the rights of the Electorate against the Pope, as already

affirmed at Rhense, it created a dangerously powerful oligarchy which subsequently split the nation into a multitude of minor principalities, and its tendency was to merge the Holy Roman Empire, with its world-wide claims, into the merely German Kingship. As regards the Palatinate, however, the gain was patent. The right of election, which in theory belonged to the whole aristocracy, was narrowed to the Electoral College, consisting of seven members, three ecclesiastical (the Archbishops of Mayence, Trêves, and Cologne), and four lay (the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Elector of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg). Among the lay members the first place was assigned to the Emperor's own patrimony of Bohemia, though practically the headship belonged as of old to the Count Palatine, who had the right of calling the assembly as well as the Reichsvicariate and the ancient office of supreme Judge of the Empire. To him was also secured the honour of bearing the Apple, the symbol of imperial power, on occasions of state, and royal privileges of toll, coinage, fortification, and protection of the Jews, the latter a very lucrative right, were confirmed to him. The electoral vote was declared inseparable from the office of Count Palatine, who thenceforward styled himself Elector Palatine. Certain immunities were bestowed on all the members of the Electoral College; their persons were to be held sacred, and they were to take precedence of all other princes of the realm; their dominions were declared inalienable, and in the case of the lay princes, hereditary. The deed was consummated at Metz at the end of the same year, and its completion celebrated by brilliant festivals with all the splendour and ceremonious observance in which Karl delighted; and in all Ruprecht the Elder was his right-hand man.

If most of the German Emperors are blamed by the historians for neglecting home affairs for the sake of a visionary power in Italy, Karl IV. is reproached with having preferred his little kingdom of Bohemia to the larger interests of the Empire. In one respect, however,

he was, if not in advance of his age, abreast of the newer thought, and what he did for Bohemia in founding the University of Prague was for the advantage of the whole country. Cultured by residence in Paris and in Italy, the friend of Petrarch, touched by the earliest breath of the Renaissance, he was quick to see the importance of the new centres of learning that had sprung up in Paris and Bologna, and he enriched his own country by founding the first university in Germany. His example was quickly followed throughout the land, and no doubt stimulated Ruprecht to emulation. Though the actual foundation of the University of Heidelberg did not take place till more than thirty years later, it was no doubt long maturing in Ruprecht's statesmanlike brain, and the details of its arrangement may often have been discussed between the friends.

More a man of action than a scholar—he deplored indeed his inability to speak Latin, so usual an accomplishment for princes in those days—Ruprecht may have gained from Karl that respect for learning that distinguished him. Peter Wundt relates of him that he used to erect altars to Wisdom in old classical fashion, but no altar could have been so worthy a memorial as that home of scholarship which has carried his name down to posterity through five centuries of change. The history of this great foundation of his must be left for another chapter, but the story of his life would be incomplete without mention of this its chief glory.

In contrast to this aspect of a many-sided man, it is somewhat startling to find him indulging in a little highway robbery on his own account, as Professor Wille puts it in his interesting monograph,* maintaining two robber castles on the high road from Spires to Worms, and deriving a nice little income from the spoils of the unlucky merchants who found themselves obliged to travel that way. At the same time he sternly put down the practice amongst his vassals, probably from mixed motives. Be-

* *Ruprecht I.*, by Professor Doctor Jakob Wille. *Ruperta-Carola Fest-Chronik*, 1886.

fore we condemn him it is perhaps as well to remember some of the methods of money-making which very highly-thought-of persons of our own day allow themselves, after five more centuries of civilization.

The death of Karl in November, 1378, must have been a great grief to Ruprecht. The Emperor had not long before visited him in Heidelberg, and made over to him the jurisdiction of the Wetterau. Weighty affairs had been discussed between them, for there was a fresh schism in the Church, and once again an anti-Pope set up, to the distraction of Christendom. Ruprecht, with the three episcopal Electors, supported the Roman Pontiff, in spite of the efforts of the French King to bring him over to the other side. French alliances had always a fatal attraction for the Counts Palatine, and Ruprecht the Younger was won by the prospect of a brilliant marriage for his son, afterwards Ruprecht III., with a French princess. Ruprecht the Elder, however, held to the rightful Pope, and supported the candidature of Wenzel the son of Karl to the imperial throne, to which he was elected without demur.

During Ruprecht's long reign the towns had been steadily growing in wealth and importance, and were becoming a factor to be reckoned with in political affairs. The habit of combining and the sense of belonging to a strong and almost world-wide organization, which the Hanseatic League had given them, made them begin to assert themselves against the domination of bishops and princes, and Cologne, the head of the Rhenish confederation, stretched out her hand to take part in imperial matters, to the indignation of the Archbishop, who considered the city entirely subject to his will. In this quarrel Ruprecht showed himself of larger mind than many of his contemporaries, and supported the just claims of the cities. He had some thought of joining the confederation himself, and it was through his mediation that a temporary cessation of hostilities was brought about, called the Heidelberger Stallung. Heidelberg itself, though it had increased greatly during the last few reigns,

was of importance chiefly as a royal residence, and later as the seat of the University; it had not won for itself any importance as a trading centre. It was now, however, fortified and surrounded by a wall with gates and strong towers for defence, the wall being carried along the shore of the Neckar. Where the old bridge now stands there was a wooden bridge, covered in, with drawbridges and a tower at each end.

A curious little town had sprung up between the town and the lower castle, along the steep paved route which had been made, up which carriages could pass, though the castle stables were in the town not far from the Ludwig's Platz. The present Marstall was not built till the time of Johann Casimir. Coaches were not much used, and the Electors and their families, if they did not ride on horseback, would be carried in litters, very usual for ladies in olden times. This little suburb, the Castle town, as it was called, acquired the privileges of a city in return for services rendered. It was to some extent self-governing, possessing a burgomaster and a Council House of its own and the right of awarding punishment, with appeal to the Count Palatine as supreme. A stone, now removed to the Castle Museum, once stood over the door of the Rath-Haus, bearing an axe and hand, denoting the power to punish a thief by cutting off his right hand; they also possessed two neck-irons and one gallows. The Burg-Graf, who represented the Count Palatine, was chosen from the nobility; while the head of the Town Council was one of themselves. They had other privileges: troops might not be quartered upon them, they were not required to pay taxes, except for wine sold in the streets, and were free of bridge toll. In return for these advantages certain services were required of the inhabitants; they had to cut ice at the Wolfsbrunnen, to fetch and carry for the Castle, to hang curtains and lay carpets, to mow the fields and carry the hay, to reinforce the garrison in time of war, and keep in repair the fortifications. The Court pages when ill or not on duty were lodged in a house in the little street which was long known as the Pages' Lodging,

RUPRECHT THE ELDER: ELECTOR PALATINE.

Statue by Sebastian Götz.

Photo. by Ed. v. König.

though they had their rations from the Castle. The place was shut in by a strong gate tower which stood just above the present Graben Strasse, near the Klingel Thor. These privileges existed so late as the time of Karl Theodor, but having become an anomaly on the removal of the Court to Schwetzingen, they were abolished in 1743 and the old banner conveyed to the Rath-Haus in Heidelberg.

Either Rudolf II. or Ruprecht repaired the fortifications and enlarged both castles, and to Ruprecht is attributed the building of a chapel on the north side, of which only a portion of one side remains, it having been removed in 1601 to make room for the chapel of the Friedrich's Bau. It was dedicated to St. Udalrich, the valiant Bishop of Augsburg, who bore so energetic a part in the victory of Lechfeld over the Magyars.

In 1390 died Ruprecht the Elder, full of years, riches, and honour, respected throughout Europe and beloved in his own dominions, of which he had been among the best and wisest of rulers. He handed them on to his successor increased, strengthened, and pacified, and left a record of a wise ruler, an upright, generous, and humane man. His statue, once in a niche of the Friedrich's Bau, now preserved in the old Ruprecht's Bau, made by Sebastian Götz long after his time, though it cannot be itself an authentic portrait, looks as if it must have been wrought from one since lost, it is so characteristic and individual. The lofty powerful figure stands in an easy pose, the slight droop of the head, the long sweeping beard showing old age, but an old age still vigorous, "frosty but kindly," ready to lay down the burden of sixty years' reign, eighty of life.

His nephew, another Ruprecht, was already sixty-five when he had to come from his retirement at Amberg to take up the reins of government, an age when most men are getting ready to lay them down, and the most active portion of his life was already past. He had been a valiant soldier in his day, and gained the title of the Hard; the more credit to him perhaps that he had been willing

to efface himself for so many years in favour of his talented uncle. His short reign of eight years was comparatively undistinguished.

His relation to the Emperor was a less friendly one than that of his predecessor; he had fought against him in 1388 and won back the property in the Upper Palatinate which had belonged to Anna, and to which Wenzel, who was only her stepson, certainly had no claim. On Ruprecht's accession Wenzel was too much absorbed with his own difficulties in Bohemia to come into conflict with him, but shortly after, having, through a combination of mismanagement and ill-luck, fallen into the hands of his rebellious subjects in that kingdom and being held prisoner, it became incumbent on the Count Palatine to come to the rescue. Little as he was loved, his imprisonment was a scandal that could not be permitted, and at a meeting of the princes at Nuremberg it was decided that Ruprecht should undertake the regency and treat for his restoration. The warlike Elector, however, preferred short measures, and sent his son to Bohemia to deliver the Emperor out of the hands of the rebels.

So incapable a ruler as Wenzel, terribly given to the national vice of drunkenness, afforded continual temptation for intrigue, and having done his duty by setting him at liberty, the Elector Palatine was entering into negotiations which pointed to obtaining the imperial crown for his son, and had already formed an alliance with Richard II. of England, accepting a subsidy from him, when in 1398 he died, leaving his son Ruprecht III. to reign in his stead.

The condition of the Church in his time was deplorable, two Popes still struggling for supremacy, and all offices openly sold and bartered for support. Even Ruprecht did not come with very clean hands out of the intrigues that took place about the appointment of the Archbishop of Mayence. Nevertheless he was a sincerely religious man, strong in his opposition to heresy and severe in his measures against both the Lollards and the flagellant monks who were infesting Europe.

Besides carrying on his uncle's work in the University, Ruprecht II. did a good deal for the town, including in it the suburb of Bergheim, and in order to make room for new university buildings removing thither a portion of the inhabitants of the old town, who were indemnified by having their taxes remitted. This new suburb, called the Vorstadt, lay to the westward of the old town, and was enclosed by walls and a gate, called the Speyerer, afterwards the Mannheim, gate.

One of his measures, which might have been very much for the advantage of the country had it been observed, but which practically became for a time a dead letter, was the Rupertine Constitution, the first definite recognition of the law of primogeniture, ordaining that younger sons were to be provided for by revenue, but not at the cost of alienating territory. He himself had only one son, but he looked to the future of his grandson, Ruprecht Pipan, who did not live to benefit by it. The Castle buildings show no personal record of Ruprecht II.

III

A' PALATINE EMPEROR

THE third Ruprecht was distinguished by wearing the purple, and is more especially remembered in Heidelberg as the builder of the ancient portion of the castle which bears his name. But for that building he would have left but little individual mark on his own country, for most of the twelve years of his reign were absorbed in pursuing that shadowy realm in Italy which became more and more unreal as the centuries advanced, and the tendency of the modern world showed itself rather towards a disintegration of Europe into separate and mutually hostile nations than towards union into such an Empire as that of Charlemagne. The great cities of Italy, the various dukedoms and principalities into which it was divided, looked upon the German Emperor as a foreign suzerain, and only fought for him as a means of intriguing against each other or against the Pope. So too the rival Popes gave or withheld their countenance to buy the Emperor's support, and even trafficked with spiritual weapons for worldly ends.

It would not seem a position that any wise man need have coveted, yet before the death of Ruprecht II. he and his son were joining in a cabal to dethrone Wenzel and put the young Count Palatine in his place. Since the Emperor owed his elevation to the Electors and not to hereditary right, and was to a certain extent answerable to them, the deposition of one showing himself unworthy or incapable stood on quite another footing to rebellion against an unquestioned sovereign, and that it was so was one of the main causes that was eating away the strength and stability of the German Empire. Unless

personal devotion came in, it was difficult to feel much loyalty to a throne whose occupant had obtained it by intrigue and bribery, and if his administration was unsatisfactory, it was fatally easy to set him aside.

So in 1396 negotiations had passed between the Count Palatine and Archbishop Johann, the unprincipled Elector of Mayence, for the deposition of Wenzel, but as yet nothing had come of them. Two years later, shortly after the accession of Ruprecht III. as Elector Palatine, Wenzel summoned a Reichstag at Frankfort to confer on the condition of the country, and more particularly on the state of the Church, still in schism, with rival Popes at Rome and Avignon. Benedict XIII. had promised to retire from the candidature should the peace of the Church demand it, but evaded his promise when called on to fulfil it, and both Popes had shown themselves so utterly unworthy that the only hope of peace lay in deposing both by the authority of a Church Council, and making a fresh appointment on which the two parties might agree. To this end it was essential that the German Emperor and the French King should meet and confer in a friendly spirit, and Wenzel therefore approached Charles VI. with proposals for a meeting. Unfortunately the nation was set against any *rapprochement* with France; the people had for centuries nursed a traditional hatred against the French, and the Elector Palatine warned the Emperor that he would endanger his waning popularity. From the point of view of European politics Ruprecht was undoubtedly wrong; from that of expediency he was right, as the event proved; Wenzel's going to Rheims unquestionably precipitated his fall. The cabal against him, with Johann of Mayence at its head and Pope Boniface working in the background, seized the opportunity to renew its activity, and a private meeting of Electors took place at Marburg, at which they entered on a league of mutual support, and steps were taken towards the putting up of a new candidate. What part Ruprecht played in these deliberations is somewhat obscure, but that it was one scarcely to his honour was shown by the remorse he

subsequently expressed. Clearly he had nothing to do with the murder of Friedrich of Brunswick, whom the Elector of Saxony had wished to put forward as a candidate, who was waylaid and slain by the vassals of Archbishop Johann on his return from a later meeting at Frankfort, though in the end he profited. The Archbishop endeavoured to clear himself of the guilt by an oath which convinced nobody, and the deed was attributed to private revenge on the part of Count Waldeck, with whom the Duke of Brunswick had had a quarrel; but the whole transaction comes out in rather a sinister light.

The towns, which were beginning to take up an independent line, would have nothing to do with the cabal, though neither would they give to Wenzel any active support; and notwithstanding the smallness of their party, four of the Electors met at the Königstuhl at Rhense, declared Wenzel deposed, and proceeded to the election of the Count Palatine Ruprecht in his room. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg both stood aloof.

Immediately after his election Ruprecht returned to Heidelberg, and having sent an intimation to the Pope, proceeded to collect troops to enforce his claim. The custom was that the chosen Emperor should for six weeks and three days await objections to the choice outside the towns of Frankfort and Aix-la-Chapelle, and at the end of this time, Wenzel having made no protest, Frankfort opened its gates to the new King, not yet acknowledged Emperor; but Aix-la-Chapelle remaining obdurate, he had to be crowned at Cologne.

Ruprecht now resolved to march into Italy in warlike array to demand coronation at the hands of the Pope, and before leaving Germany he appointed his eldest surviving son Ludwig Vicegerent for the Empire and Regent of the Palatinate, with a council of four advisers to aid his inexperience, one of whom was Count Johann von Hirschhorn. He had already strengthened himself by an alliance with the powerful house of Lancaster, although his father had been on friendly terms with the murdered Richard II., and had obtained the promise of the hand of

Blanche, daughter of Henry IV., for Ludwig. An oath was exacted from the two elder princes to observe the provisions of the Rupertine Constitution, with its right of primogeniture and its enactments against the dismemberment of territory. They also had to give a promise to maintain the rights of the University intact.

Ruprecht had still many preparations to make before he could set forth for Rome. North Germany did not yet acknowledge him, and several of the most important of the towns continued to support the deposed Wenzel, so he had to negotiate and purchase favour on every side that he might not leave enemies behind him. In this, as well as in providing an army for the Italian campaign, he was terribly crippled for funds; and it was the want of the sinews of war rather than any lack of energy on his own part that rendered his expedition so futile. Another very serious drawback was the attitude of the Pope. Since the whole cabal was largely of his initiating, the least he could do was to give to the chosen Emperor the moral support of bestowing the diadem; but to Ruprecht's dismay Boníface now hesitated and declined to commit himself. He delayed in every way, sent a Legate into Germany to inquire whether the deposition of Wenzel had been quite regular, met Ruprecht with an embassy to learn with what forces and by what route he designed to enter Italy, and to demand promises that he would protect Church property and make no claim on southern Italy. This of course deprived Ruprecht of the weight the Pope's sanction would have given, and tended to throw waverers into the other scale; but the new Emperor would not be discouraged: he sent Magister Albrecht of Nuremberg to make fresh representations to His Holiness of his need of and claim on decided support, and in the meantime collected his army in readiness at Augsburg, while he negotiated with Leopold of Austria and the Duke of Savoy for passage through their dominions, and with the Duke of Ferrara and the wealthy cities of Venice and Florence for their aid, chiefly monetary.

Several of the Italian dynasties declared for Wenzel,

and the friendship of Ferrara meant the enmity of his rivals, the Visconti; Gian Galeazzo Visconti indeed, before ever the new Emperor came to Italy, had endeavoured to put an end to his claims by the Italian method of secret poison. Ruprecht's private physician, Hermann, had studied in Padua, and had been bought over by the emissaries of Visconti to administer some drug while he was still at Amberg, but the attempt luckily failed.

At length Ruprecht reached Italy with what forces he had been able to gather, and appointed the Duke of Ferrara Commander-in-Chief; but the German soldiers did not follow the Italian general willingly, and were hardly a match for the trained and practised condottieri. The loss of several minor battles and the crushing defeat at Brescia, as well as the defection of Leopold of Austria, so weakened Ruprecht as to oblige him to retire to Padua, where with the Empress he passed several weeks in vain negotiations, beguiling the time with festivities for which he must himself have felt small heart. Still the Pope could not be prevailed on to compromise himself by taking a decided part, and Ruprecht betook himself to Venice, where the Doge came out to meet him in the state barge, the Bucentaur, and with the whole Signory acknowledged him Emperor.

Under happier circumstances the sojourn in Italy could not have failed to be a delight to the cultivated Emperor, who took so keen an interest in architecture as well as in learning and in the welfare of his beloved University; for in spite of the long desolating struggle of Guelf and Ghibelline, of Pope and anti-Pope, Italy was at the zenith of its intellectual life, the home of the Arts, the nursing ground of the Renaissance; and Venice, with its great wealth, was a great patroness of the Arts, and indulged in much splendour and magnificence both in dress and in all the trappings of state ceremonial. But it must have been with a heavy heart that Ruprecht bore his part in the banquets and pageants with which the Signory sought to entertain him, while he saw his plans breaking to pieces in his hands, and his money melting away till he found

himself compelled to pawn his plate and jewels for the means of support. Fair words and gorgeous banquets were a poor substitute for the effectual aid in men and money which he needed; but this, even from Venice which professed to support him, was not forthcoming.

At length he gave up the losing game; disheartened, discredited, an Emperor in name alone, he, turned his steps homeward, to be met in his own dominions, nay, in his very town of Heidelberg itself, with mocking songs on the failure of his enterprise. Perhaps he got his nickname of the Mild from the gentleness of his answer when his followers would have punished the impudent children who chanted after them in the streets. "Let them sing," said he, "and let us thank God that we have come safe home again."

Germany was in need of him; the young Ludwig was not strong enough to hold in check the robber barons and all the forces of anarchy around him, and was moreover in as desperate need of money as his father. Ruprecht's misfortunes in Italy had emboldened the Ghibelline party to make another effort on Wenzel's behalf, but the drinking habits of the latter had so gained on him that he had become a mere puppet in the hands of his brothers, who carried him hither and thither at their will. Ruprecht, having succeeded in detaching Austria from their side, treated with the brothers on the basis of leaving to Wenzel the undisturbed possession of Bohemia; while Siegmund might take Brandenburg if they would acknowledge him Emperor. Meanwhile Blanche of Lancaster arrived at Heidelberg, where her marriage with the Crown Prince was solemnized, which gave Ruprecht a certain measure of prestige and external support. He also treated with the King of France for the marriage of his son Johann with a French princess. The Queen of France was his cousin and on very friendly terms with him. Negotiations were also entered into with a view of healing the schism in the Church.

At length, alarmed by these strong alliances, especially that with France, Boniface, who had already quarrelled

with Siegmund, resolved to give to Ruprecht the long-withheld acknowledgment, and he became recognized by Christendom as German Emperor, 1 October, 1403. Even yet several of the towns held out against him, and when summoned to a Reichstag at Mayence refused to appear. The weakness of his rule, in spite of the personal energy of his character, was testified by the fact that Aix-la-Chapelle resisted him for more than four years, and never did he succeed in obtaining any solid and durable power, while the condition of the Church involved him in ever-fresh embarrassments. The Council of Pisa, which should have allayed disturbances by the deposition of the rival Popes and the appointment of Alexander V., brought Ruprecht unhappily into conflict with the new Pope, who declared for Wenzel and appointed the iniquitous Johann of Mayence his Legate in Germany.

Ruprecht was now sixty-eight, and wearied with the perpetual struggle in which his life had been spent. He, however, gathered his forces together and was preparing to maintain his rights, when on his way home to Heidelberg in order to complete his preparations he was suddenly seized with illness; he was obliged to stop at the Castle of Landskron, near Oppenheim, and there died on the 18th of May, 1410. His body was brought to Heidelberg and buried in the church of the Holy Ghost, where his tomb remains in very good preservation, adorned with his statue and that of his wife Elizabeth of Hohenzollern.

He had a large family; his eldest son Ruprecht, called Pipan, died young and childless after a life of wonderful adventures. He fought in the war Siegmund was waging against the Turks, and having been taken prisoner by Bajazet, narrowly escaped a horrible death, the princes under twenty being spared. They were imprisoned, but some, among them Prince Ruprecht, contrived to escape to the Danube and make their way home disguised as beggars; but the hardships he went through undermined his health, and he did not long survive his marriage to a princess of Sponheim. The second brother also died

early, and there remained Ludwig, Johann, Stephen, and Otto, and three daughters.

Notwithstanding all his troubles, monetary and other, and his long absences, Ruprecht found time and means to add to the castle the palace called the Ruprecht's Bau, which is the earliest now standing, and is distinguished by the addition of the imperial eagle to the arms of the Palatinate. All the Counts Palatine seem to have shared a passion for building, and after the disappointments and discouragements of his Italian campaign Ruprecht may have found solace in devoting himself to such an absorbing interest. He probably felt that the dignity of the Emperor demanded a better and more important dwelling-place than the old Rudolf's Bau in the north-east corner of the present courtyard; but compared with the later buildings, Ruprecht's appears very modest and devoid of ornament.

The site he chose was on the western side, just within the gate tower. The entrance is by a Gothic arch, above which is a curious carving, the meaning of which has puzzled the antiquaries: two child-angels bear a wreath of five roses, within which is a partly opened compass. It is probably the emblem of some craftsman's guild, the five roses symbolic of the Blessed Virgin, the Rosa Mystica, under whose protection such guilds were often placed; the compass denoting the Masonic order, or it may have been merely a device of the Emperor's own; but German sentiment has twined a little legend about it. The story goes that the Master-builder had two lovely boys, twins, who used to follow him when he went to his work and play near him. Once he had allowed them to climb to the lofty scaffolding where he was engaged, and his attention being taken up, one child made a false step, and the other trying to save his brother overbalanced; both fell from a great height and were taken up dead. The father was so crushed with grief that his work came to a standstill; he could not even remember how he had intended to finish the doorway on which he had been engaged, and his sole occupation was binding wreaths of white roses to

lay on the grave of his darlings. The mild Emperor at last grew impatient and requested the good priest of St. Peter's, who had buried the children, to remonstrate with the desolate father and recall him to a sense of his duty. The same night in a vision the builder's twin boys appeared to him, clad as angels, bearing in their hands the wreath he had just laid upon their grave. Waking with the dawn, he found the room filled with the scent of roses, and there lay the wreath, but the white roses had turned red, the pallid hue of death flushed into the colour of life and love. He took it as a sign, and went back to his work, resolving to carve the vision with the symbol of his trade within the circlet, as a more abiding memorial to his children than the fading garlands he used to weave. As a German of later day, Jean Paul Richter, has said: "The best wreath we can lay on the grave of our beloved is the fruit-wreath of good deeds."

Above this carving are the remains of tracery of a round window which gave light to the vestibule between the two chief rooms on the ground floor. At the end of the passage there is another window and a spiral staircase in very good preservation, supposed to have been added by Ludwig V., leading to the rooms above.

The palace was built upon the old inner fortification, one of the original walls forming its western side, and beneath the south room runs a huge cellar of very early date, as shown by the style of the vaulting. The plan was extremely simple; there was a long narrow hall on either side of the vestibule and the same above; while those on the second storey were divided into smaller rooms for sleeping chambers. The north room on the first floor was also divided into smaller ones, but it is thought this may have been done later. The outside is rough and the windows unsymmetrically arranged, and it is evident that it has been altered and added to at many different periods. In a line with the windows of the first storey are two carved tablets; on one are the arms of Ruprecht, the imperial eagle, holding in his claws two shields, one with the crowned lion of the Palatinate, the other with the round

lozenges of Bavaria. This tablet, from its good preservation, must have been more recently restored, and the other is much later, bearing the date 1545 and the initials C.F., showing it to have been put up by the Elector Friedrich II.

The ground-floor room to the south was the Knights' Hall, and is in fair preservation, now used to store statues and carvings. There is a fine old chimney-piece, and the room, rather a gloomy one, must have looked its best when the flaming logs were piled upon the hearth. The vaulted ceiling is decorated with shields, amongst which appears the Hohenzollern crest belonging to Elizabeth of Nuremberg, the wife of Ruprecht. The room to the north is entirely in ruins. This is supposed to have been the apartment of the Empress and her ladies; it would seem from its large windows to have been much more cheerful and airy than the other, but by their style they are evidently a later addition, and in those early days security was more appreciated than air and light. All these rooms must have been considerably darkened, indeed almost blocked up, by the fortifications which abutted on the moat; probably when the inhabitants wished to take the air they would walk upon the ramparts which reached to the north and west walls, flanked with low and strong towers. Even then no view would be obtained, as there was a high outer wall beyond. When the Ordnance garden was made and the western defences strengthened and extended the rampart became useless as a fortification, and was cut through to build the library.

Round the walls of the banqueting hall on the first floor hung portraits of the early Counts Palatine, in the midst Otto the Illustrious, with an inscription—

Otho der erst Pfalzgraff bei Rheyn
Hett Pfalzgraff Heinrichs Tochterleiu
Mit Mannheit er es so erfecht,
Dess Reiches Chur blieb seim Geschlecht.

The magnificent chimney-piece which adorned this room belongs to the days of Friedrich II.

From the gallery on the first floor can be traced a passage (probably a later addition), leading by the library

tower to the rooms above the Kŏnig Saal, and from thence by the old chapel round to the present Saal Bau, where it is surmised was the old König or Kaiser Saal belonging to the earliest portion of the castle. In this hall Ruprecht would hold great conferences or banquets. The other rooms in this older building were probably given up to the officers of the Emperor's household, who formerly had to find quarters in the Augustinian Monastery in the town below. The big castle kitchen was opposite, on the west side of the castle court, and the lodgings for servants and soldiers were adjoining, near the draw-well.

Such high authorities as Koch and Seitz, the Inspector of the Buildings and the Architect of the Restoration, after careful investigations, were inclined to attribute the Ruprecht's Bau wholly to Ludwig IV., but as this opinion was based chiefly on the coats-of-arms in the vaulting which appear to be of the later date, that of Pfalz-Bayern bearing the quarterings of Elizabeth, first wife of Ludwig III., which did not exist until 1415, Ruprecht having died in 1410, it is not conclusive, as the arms may easily have been added later to an unfinished ceiling. Another point they bring forward is the resemblance of certain details between this and the church of the Holy Ghost; but since that was begun by Ruprecht III., though only finished by Ludwig V., neither does this carry conviction when weighed against the long-uncontradicted tradition.*

In 1406 Ruprecht had taken up his abode there with his family, as a reference exists to his receiving deputations there from the town anent the quarrels which had broken out between the students of the new University and the knights and burghers, and during the same disturbance Ruprecht, accompanied by three of his sons and several councillors, went down to the Augustinian Monastery to pronounce judgment thereupon.

The new palace, if plain and small, compared to the magnificent later additions, was doubtless a great improvement on the older Rudolf's Bau, and was looked upon as not unworthy to be the home of the Emperor.

* Publications of Schloss Verein.

IV

A STRONG MAN

THERE was need for one: the death of Ruprecht III. left the Empire a prey to the inevitable anarchy of a vacant throne and a disputed election, and the Palatinate to be once more torn up to satisfy the claims of four brothers, in spite of the attempt of Ruprecht II. to put matters on a sounder basis. For eighty years there had been but one male heir, so, despite troubles external and internal, the country had grown and strengthened; but now came division once more. For the habit of regarding succession to sovereignty, not as an office, but as a possession, was ingrained, and before his death Ruprecht III. made a will which should override the Rupertine Constitution, in defiance of his former requisition to his sons to observe it. By this will he appointed a committee of seven men of weight and authority to divide his dominions between his four surviving sons, the two elder having died before him.

To Ludwig fell of right the Electoral title, and to him was assigned the Rhenish Palatinate, Mannheim, Weinheim, Heidelberg with its two castles, and Dilsberg; three cities (Amberg, Kemnat, and Nahburg), with five castles in the Upper Palatinate, and certain other property shared with his brothers. The next brother, Johann, called of Neuburg, obtained the remainder of the Upper Palatinate. Stephen received the Simmern and Zweibrücken property, from which his line took their name, and his descendants succeeded to the Palatinate on the dying out of the older branch. Otto's share was up the Neckar valley, together with some scattered portions near Bruchsal and some on the Bergstrasse which fell to

him on the demise of his mother. He became known as von Mosbach.

It would have been easy for Ludwig to grasp the imperial dignity had he desired it, but he had seen too much of the difficulties his father had had to struggle with to have any ambition to fill the vacant throne; he must, however, of necessity busy himself about the choice of an Emperor, and summon a meeting of Electors. There was Wenzel, drinking himself to death, still claiming the title, and supported by three of the Electors, those of Saxony and Bohemia with Jobst of Moravia, in right of his claim to Brandenburg; there was the cabal of the Archbishop of Mayence, to whom the Bishop of Cologne adhered; and moreover, there were not a few who preferred an interregnum of anarchy and confusion in order to seek their own ends, and therefore threw stumbling-blocks in the way of any settlement. Ludwig stood aloof from both parties, and although he could only count on the vote of the timid and undecided Archbishop of Trêves he summoned the Electors to Frankfort, and made choice of Siegmund of Hungary, brother of Wenzel, to put forward as candidate, a man whose talents and knightly qualities might have rendered him an able ruler in less impossible times. Ludwig was prepared for a struggle, and in defiance of the Golden Bull endeavoured to bring an armed force into the town, an attempt in which he was frustrated by the Town Council.

The supporters of Wenzel declined to appear, alleging that the throne was not vacant; only the four Rhenish Electors answered the summons, and they were equally divided. Archbishop Johann endeavoured to win the support of the three absent ones by proposing Jobst, one of their number, as a new candidate, but Ludwig outwitted him by inducing the Archbishop of Trêves to declare Siegmund the rightful Elector of Brandenburg, his vote to be exercised by his deputy the Burg-Graf, and thereby a majority of voices was secured. Johann, furious, locked the cathedral where the ceremony of election ought to have taken place, so it was held quite

formally in the churchyard and considered equally valid ; and Siegmund was declared Emperor. Baring-Gould, in his " Story of Germany," quotes from some old chronicle a mocking rhyme about this election :—

Zu Frankfurt hinter'm Chor
Haben gewehlt ein Kunig
Ein Kind und ein Thor.

which may be rendered :—

At Frankfort town, the choir behind
Have chosen a King
A Fool and a Child.

But though the old Archbishop of Trêves was allowed on all hands to be a fool, Ludwig at five-and-thirty could hardly be reckoned a child ; there must be a reference to some forgotten jest.

It seems marvellous that Ludwig should have been able to carry matters through with so high a hand against such odds, but the thing was done, and Siegmund ruled with a more undisputed sway than that wielded by any Emperor since Karl IV. His gratitude to Ludwig was at first sincere ; he confirmed him in the rights given by the Golden Bull and made him Constable of Alsace. He also paid him a visit at Heidelberg Castle and stayed a fortnight, occupying no doubt the new state rooms in the Ruprecht's Bau, and the following month he returned again to Heidelberg on his way to his coronation at Aix-la-Chapelle, to which Ludwig accompanied him as the chief of his supporters.

Soon afterwards the death of Jobst extinguished one claim, and renewed efforts were made by both parties to get their candidate acknowledged, the one side for the restoration of Wenzel, the other for the confirmation of the somewhat informal election of Siegmund ; the latter deeply affronted Ludwig by consenting to re-election, which seemed to reflect on the legality of his act, and some coldness and alienation ensued, aggravated by a dispute about money matters. It became necessary, however, that they should act in concert on the very serious question of the Church.

Not only had there been three Emperors contending for the crown, but three Popes claimed the allegiance of Christendom, all set up by worldly powers for worldly ends, and one of them a man of notoriously bad character. The condition of the Church was an acknowledged scandal which all good men strove to amend, and it was causing heresies and disturbances throughout Europe. In Bohemia the preaching of John Huss and Jerome of Prague was not only awaking men to a sense of the patent evils and abuses around them, but kindling latent socialistic tendencies by the assertion of the equality of all Christian men, and arousing their cupidity by visions of dividing the wealth of the Church. These notions were spreading like a flame, and the position was growing so critical that a great Council was summoned to meet at Constance in January, 1415, to deliberate as to what steps should be taken.

The Elector Palatine, as supporter of the Emperor and representative of the knighthood of the Empire, rode to Constance attended by a brilliant following from the most important families of his domain, among whom were von Hirschhorn, Neckarsteinach, Sickingen, Helmstadt, and many others. In right of his office he had the charge of public order, and in his hands was the arrangement of precedence, a delicate matter in such a gathering of princes; moreover, the adjustment of quarrels, frequent enough in a concourse of foreigners, came before him. On one occasion he assuaged with difficulty a fight that broke out between the French, English, and Spaniards, who were all lodged in the Franciscan cloister, and he was obliged to call in the aid of several other princes. It is not a little surprising that in the midst of these distractions he should have found time to study Latin, but he must have felt the need of it, since in those days it was the common language of Learning and Diplomacy, and the universal means of communication between the various nationalities. To him also belonged the oversight of domestic affairs, the assignment of lodgings, and arranging of prices. He decrees that a bed for two

persons is not to be charged more than a gulden, the sheets must be changed once a fortnight, the table linen once a week.

Among the earliest matters dealt with were the doctrines of John Huss, and he was summoned before the Council to answer the charge of heresy. It seems that the Council would have been better advised to have first purified the source and fount of order by settling who was the rightful head of the Church, and reformed crying abuses in high places, and then claimed obedience and submission; but to stamp out heresy appeared the most pressing need. To the eternal dishonour of the Council it is recorded that having secured the attendance of Huss by a safe-conduct its word was violated, and he, refusing to promise silence when his doctrine was condemned as heretical and dangerous, was put in prison for a year and subsequently burnt at the stake. A similar fate overtook Jerome of Prague, who was found a fugitive in the dominions of Johann of Neuburg, Ludwig's brother, and by him handed over to the ecclesiastical authorities.

Dangerous and mischievous as their doctrines might be, it is difficult to believe that so knightly a man as Siegmund could have said, as is reported of him, that there was no obligation to keep faith with a heretic. The story has been transmitted and accepted, but such do not always rest on unimpeachable authority. Whether or no we believe with Häusser that Ludwig had no more than an official responsibility in the matter, it is fair to remember that the rapid spread of heresy was a very real and serious embarrassment to those who were seeking to restore the peace of the Church, and in those days savage measures of repression were the only ones considered effectual. His last descendant, Otto Heinrich, certainly believed that the safe-conduct had been violated, and that by the deed of his ancestor, for he saw in the dying out of his line the judgment of God on iniquity.

To restore the peace of the Church was the worthy task which Siegmund had set himself, and to that he now pro-

ceeded, backed by the loyal support of the Elector Palatine. They succeeded in deposing John XXIII., and on his fleeing to the protection of Friedrich of Austria they made war upon the latter and compelled him to surrender the fugitive, who was then handed over to the custody of the Elector, and after a short captivity in Heidelberg Castle was confined in Rheinhausen, near Mannheim. At one time, during a quarrel, Siegmund demanded that the captive should be given up to him, but Ludwig was too wary to deliver up so valuable a hostage. The other two Popes having been induced to resign their pretensions, Martin V. was appointed, and became the recognized head of the Church. These weighty matters having been settled, the Council dispersed.

It was an unhappy thing that, after these successes shared together and so much mutual support, quarrels should have arisen, but there was not improbably some jealousy on Siegmund's part of the man who might have been Emperor, and whom he must have acknowledged in his secret heart was the stronger man of the two. When he was at Basel in May, 1418, he actually charged the Count Palatine with treason, a charge which, however, he failed to substantiate. He took notwithstanding the extreme measure of recalling the rights in Alsace which he had made over to Ludwig, claiming even the town of Selz which had been pledged to the Palatinate in the time of Ruprecht III. This amounted to a declaration of war, and Ludwig hastened to throw a small force of cavalry into Selz, while he appealed to his English brother-in-law, Henry V., for aid, promising him help in France in return. Siegmund, alarmed at this display of firmness, took no further steps to enforce his claim, but turned his attention to more pressing matters.

The state of anarchy which had prevailed through all the disputed reigns of many past years was becoming well-nigh intolerable, and while he struggled vainly with it Siegmund must have realized the folly of driving his strongest supporter into the attitude of an independent prince. Ludwig himself was by no means guiltless of dis-

turbances; he had almost plunged his dominions into a feud with the Margrave of Baden, so deeply hurt was he at imagining himself to have been maligned by him to the Emperor; but happily the Electors of Brandenburg and Trêves intervened: they induced the Margrave to declare that he had spoken nothing against the honour of the Elector Palatine, and Ludwig accepting the assurance, peace was restored.

Then troubles arose again between the bishops and the towns, which were beginning to realize their own importance and the strength to be derived from combination, and the authority of the clerical power in lay affairs began to be shaken. Later a league between Conrad, the new Archbishop of Mayence, and the towns of Mayence, Spires, and Worms, threatened the harmony of the Rhenish Electors, but the matter was adjusted by the Agreement of Boppard. A very serious quarrel broke out between Bishop Rhabanus of Spires and that town. Pope Martin V., who was appealed to, appointed Conrad of Mayence to mediate, and he had nearly conciliated both parties when Siegmund unwisely interfered, took up the Bishop's cause, and so exasperated the townsmen that they besieged the monastery of St. Germans, destroyed it, and chased away the monks, alleging their scandalous lives as an excuse. But the monastery was in a strong position, and might have become a menace to the town.

In the midst of all these troubles Bohemia was very far from having been pacified by stern measures of repression against heresy, and its nearness to the Palatinate made its influence a very disturbing one. The Hussites had taken up arms under the leadership of the fanatical one-eyed Ziska, and the war raged for nearly fourteen years. Though no formal reconciliation had taken place between the Emperor and the Elector Palatine, the latter felt bound to take part in the "crusade," as it was called, against the rebellious Bohemians, and he and his brother Johann lent considerable aid. As a token of confidence he was sent to conduct an important negotiation between Prussia and Poland, but in his absence a fresh affront was

offered by the appointment of the Archbishop of Mayence to the vice-regency, an office which the Elector Palatine regarded as his by right.

This was amongst many causes which threatened a new cabal against the Emperor. The Electoral princes took the bold step of sending their representatives to treat of their rights as one sovereign prince might send an embassy to another, a measure which deeply affronted Siegmund; and as Rhabanus of Spires, Chancellor of the Palatinate, and the Court Chamberlain of the Elector were chief among the representatives, he easily perceived that Ludwig was at the head of the movement. The mission was fruitless; Siegmund declined to treat with rebellious vassals in this fashion, and war began to smoulder in the Rhine provinces.

Before open hostilities had broken out Ludwig, weary and sick of strife, withdrew himself from the arena of contest, and went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He may have thought that matters might adjust themselves better in his absence; not improbably he was already beginning to suffer from the attacks of gout that made an invalid and an old man of him before his time; and have hoped for a restoration to health from the journey. He was a man of deep religious feeling—"the Pious" was one of the names he was called by—and may have longed to see the Holy Sepulchre before he died. Be the reason what it may, he dropped all his cares and preoccupations and set forth on his travels in the company of his cousin Count Johann of Sponheim, a very singular character, of a dreamy, mystic turn, a fitting travelling companion on such a journey. He was deeply read in astrology and alchemy and all the strange lore of the East, and Abbot Trithemius narrates of him that he professed to be able to interpret the barking of dogs and the twittering of birds. He must have been an entertaining comrade, and conversation with him must have come as a refreshing change after years of political strife. After more than a year's absence Ludwig came home again with a long beard which, pilgrim fashion, he had suffered to grow and never

shaved off, thereby acquiring his second nickname of "the Bearded."

On his return he found the war in the Rhine valley still dragging on, though shortly after it was brought to a conclusion by the peace of Spires. That in Bohemia too continued to rage, and the Hussites attacked and wasted much of the Upper Palatinate which was on their borders. Ludwig's last public act was to attend the conference at Nuremberg, which was called in the hope of putting an end to this distracted state of things; but before anything was decided the defeat at Taus brought the Hussite war to an ignominious conclusion.

Ludwig's work was done: gout had attacked, not only his feet, but his eyes, and for a year before his death, which took place in 1437, he led quite an invalid life, leaving the reins of government to his youngest brother Otto as regent for his eldest surviving son Ludwig, Ruprecht, the only son by his first wife Blanche of Lancaster, having died before him at the age of twenty.

After all the toils and troubles of his reign and his long adventurous journey, he spent the evening of his days in great peace and quiet in his Heidelberg castle. He left no personal record as a builder—his father Ruprecht had made it sufficient for the needs of a generation or two; but he added to the charm of his home by the purchase of a garden with a neighbouring hill and water moat. Like most of his race, he loved books, and took deep interest in the education of his three sons by his second wife, the gentle and pious Matilda of Savoy. The eldest, Ludwig, was like his mother, a quiet dreamy lad, delighting in his Latin lessons and in the collection of books of old German poetry and romance in which his father took so much pleasure. Friedrich, the second boy, born in 1425, was growing up a fine tall, golden-haired youth of a high spirit, already giving promise of the brilliant qualities by which he left so strong an impress on the history of his country. The little Ruprecht, destined for the Church, who eventually became Archbishop of Cologne, showed signs of his elder brother's scholarly tastes, and we may be sure that

the father, who had found how great a drawback was his ignorance of Latin, took good heed that the lessons of Meister Mathias von Kemnat should not be in vain for any of his boys.

Leger, drawing probably upon some ancient chronicle, gives a quaint picture of the old Elector watching from his window with some concern the stone-throwing, dancing, and other frivolous sports indulged in by the monks of the Franciscan monastery below, and being thereby incited to efforts for the reformation of monastic life. Old prints show this garden at the back of the monastery extending up the hill under the great terrace, and it must in his day have been commanded by the windows of the old portion of the castle. The story shows that already the sense of declension from high ideals, the need of a reform of manners, was making itself felt, a need which found expression in the writings of Nicholas von Cues not many years later.

All that Ludwig did for the University and the library belongs to another part of the story. He carried out his father's work there, and also fulfilled Ruprecht's intention of enlarging the church of the Holy Ghost and developing it into a regular University church, with a Dean and Chapter. In this church he was buried, it having been one of the new privileges secured to it to be the burial place of the Electors; and there his tomb may still be seen.

V

A VALIANT FIGHTER

ONCE more the government was to be in the hands of a regent uncle. There was but a year between the two elder boys; Ludwig was thirteen, Friedrich twelve, at the time of their father's death, and the second was the stronger both morally and physically; but Ludwig III. faithfully observed the principle of primogeniture laid down in the Rupertine Constitution, and arranged that the eldest should succeed as Ludwig IV., under the guardianship of his uncle, Otto of Mosbach. Otto was the youngest of the three surviving sons of Ruprecht III., but no question seems to have arisen as to Ludwig's right to appoint, in spite of the provisions of the Golden Bull as to a regency; probably both Johann and Stephan were sufficiently occupied with their own affairs, and they had always been a singularly harmonious family.

Thirteen was in those days by no means such a childish age as it is in ours, and although Otto transacted business for the next few years, all papers bore Ludwig's signature. Otto, however, represented his young ward at the election of a new Emperor, Albrecht of Austria, who was chosen at Frankfort in March, 1438, and he also acted as regent of the Empire during the previous interregnum. These offices fell to him twice, as Albrecht died within a year and a half, and his cousin Friedrich was elected.

Although as far as outward events were concerned the years of Otto's rule were peaceful, for Heidelberg and its neighbourhood they were years of great distress and suffering, for severe winters and bad harvests brought dearth and sickness in their train, and the land was harried by hordes of wandering gipsies.

At eighteen Ludwig was considered of age to take the reins of government into his own hands, and his uncle relinquished them without question. His first public act was to bear his part in the coronation of the new Emperor, Friedrich III., at Aix-la-Chapelle, which did not take place till June, 1442. The young Elector Palatine paid the Emperor every honour, riding to meet him on his road from Frankfort with a brilliant retinue of knights, comprising twenty-eight Counts of his own dominions, and entertaining him with splendid banquets on his journey down the Rhine at Bacharach and the old castle of Pfalzgrafenstein. His Rhenish followers swelled his train, and he rode into Aix at the head of a thousand horsemen. So great a concourse had its dangers, and there was a narrow escape of a serious misunderstanding, for his servants and those of the Emperor got into strife at watering the horses, a man was pushed into the water and drowned, and a riot ensued, so confused that no man knew quite what was happening; some said the Elector was making an assault upon the town, others that the Emperor had laid an ambush for the Elector; yet another tale was that the Elector would attempt the Emperor's life. Happily the young Ludwig had the good sense to go straight to Friedrich with the words, "Gracious Sire, there are reports in the town that I am setting myself up against your Majesty; it is not so, I will die and revive for you," or, as an Englishman would have put it, "I will live and die for you," and by his gentleness and candour he saved the situation.

Young as he was, he was distinguished by a certain quiet wisdom which had an opportunity of displaying itself in the strife which shortly broke out between the Swiss Confederation and the Empire. Friedrich was resolved to enforce his claim to the suzerainty of Switzerland, but the confederate Swiss were equally determined to grasp at complete independence, and proved a very obstinate foe. With incredible folly he called on the French for aid, and instead of the disciplined troops he expected to receive found himself saddled with an army

of mercenaries in the service of the Armagnac faction, who, repulsed by the valiant Swiss, swarmed plundering down the Rhine valley, and overran the Palatinate. The remedy was worse than the disease, and when negotiations failed to dislodge them an army had to be marched against them under the command of the Elector Palatine, and at length a treaty was made at Trêves by which the land was freed from this horde of "knackers," as they justly described themselves. As soon as this was over Ludwig was called upon to exercise his office of supreme Judge of the realm in the matter of the Swiss quarrel, in which he showed much discretion. The combatants were summoned to attend a conference at Constance and lay their claims before the Elector Palatine, and after four weeks' wrangling the youthful judge, who was but a lad of two-and-twenty, induced them to lay down their arms till the matters in dispute could be finally adjudicated at a future meeting at Ulm.

In 1446 a small war was forced upon Ludwig: having the High Stewardship of Alsace and of certain towns in Swabia, he became involved in strife with the two Barons von Lützelstein, turbulent brothers of the order of robber-knights, who were raising disturbances on the north-west border of Alsace, but without much difficulty he subdued them and made them his vassals. From subsequent events it would seem that his brother Friedrich was in command of his forces on this occasion.

He married his cousin on the mother's side, Margaretha, Queen of Naples, a young widow, daughter of Amadeus VIII. of Savoy, whose holy monastic life in his later days caused him to be chosen Pope by the Council of Basel under the title of Felix V. She was very beautiful, and had been proposed for the Emperor Friedrich III. Possibly she may have been already attached to her cousin, who was of a very lovable nature, and preferred love to ambition. She was betrothed to Ludwig at Mayence on 22 October, 1444, and the next year her family escorted her in great state to Basel, where she was received by her future husband, and borne in procession to Heidel-

berg, where the marriage was solemnized in the church of the Holy Ghost.

Very few years of happiness were granted to the young pair; Ludwig had barely completed his twenty-fifth year when he died suddenly at Worms on 13 August, 1449, leaving an infant son Philip in the guardianship of his brother Friedrich.

A very singular story is related by Leger about the cause of his death, which, as it is unmentioned by serious historians, is probably unauthenticated; it is, however, quoted from a biography of Friedrich, and seems as though it must have had some foundation, if only in rumour; it was the sort of story likely to be hushed up and creep out later. According to this tale Friedrich had excited the ire of the turbulent and tyrannical barons, who in those unsettled times oppressed their own vassals and harried those of other people, and held themselves accountable to no man. His knightly qualities and fearless temper made him always ready to take up the cause of the injured and the poor, and he cared not how he thwarted the bullies for whom might was right. Especially had he offended the Lützelstein brothers, who were types of the worst amongst their order; they could not forget their humiliation in Alsace, and looked about for means of revenge.

The Count Palatine Friedrich was a dangerous man to meddle with, for not only was he the hero of the people, but he was always surrounded by loyal friends, and between him and his brother the Elector was entire confidence and affection. The Lützelsteins were members of the mysterious secret tribunal known as the Vehm Gericht,* and by its means they hoped to attain their end. One of its Courts of Justice was established at Waldorf, some three hours' journey from Heidelberg, so they laid an information against Count Friedrich of heresy and of trafficking with evil spirits, by means of which his weapons

* *Rede zum Geburtsfest der Hochstseligen Grossherzog Carl Friedrich von Baden: Ueber die Reception des Römischen Rechts in Deutschland,* Dr. Otto Karlowa.

were poisoned and his person rendered dagger-proof. The tribunal appears to have accepted their evidence, but the victim was too well guarded for their judgment to be enforced against him. His friends suspected some plot, and so surrounded him that the emissaries of the Vehm Gericht could not get him into their hands. They therefore elaborated a childish plot in order to induce his brother, whose piety might be worked upon, to give him up to their vengeance.

Friedrich had his weak side; amongst the Queen's ladies was Eleonora, sister of the Lützelsteins, a very lovely girl who had for a time captivated the fancy of the young Count Palatine; but after a brief love affair of a more or less serious nature he had become disenchanted and escaped from her toils. There is no creature so vengeful as a woman scorned, and in her her brothers found a willing tool. They themselves were too well known to appear openly, but two stranger knights were employed by the Vehm Gericht, who appeared at Ludwig's Court and rendered themselves so agreeable that hospitality was willingly extended to them. By their flatteries they quite ingratiated themselves with the Elector; but Friedrich was either too wary or too much occupied to have much intercourse with them. His former tutor, Kemnat, who was extremely devoted to him, had his suspicions excited by observing the two strangers to be on very familiar terms with the Countess of Lützelstein, and also that they had private meetings with a former confessor of the Elector who had been dismissed from his post for mischievous intrigues, who still haunted the monastery at the foot of the hill; the same of which the monks had in the previous reign been accused of frivolity and worldliness. He warned the Count Palatine that there was mischief afoot, and induced him to keep two of his most trusty friends, Gemmingen and Geispitzheim, always about his person.

The corridors and passages leading from the old palace to the new rendered it easy for Eleonora to smuggle her two accomplices, on a night agreed on, into the room next

that in which the Elector slept, and secrete them there till on the stroke of twelve she placed herself at the foot of the Elector's bed, disguised as the Blessed Virgin, with a light about her head, and cried "Ludwig! Ludwig! Ludwig!" three times. He sprang up startled, calling on Margaretha his wife, fancying she must have woke him, but she was not there, and dazed at sight of the apparition, he listened in horror while the supposed Virgin dilated on the heresy and wicked blasphemy of his beloved brother, and charged him on his duty as a Christian to deliver up the sinner to justice. As he doubted, she assured him that the Prince of Darkness himself had visited his brother that very night and was at that moment in chains at her feet. Hereupon, with a ghastly howling and rattling of chains, appeared a horrible shape on the head of which she set her foot. His hair bristling with horror, the Elector sprang from his bed and sank upon the floor, and at the same moment the two knights rushed in, dragged him to his feet, and announcing themselves as officers of the Vehm Gericht, compelled him to go with them to his brother's room.

The "devil" meanwhile, personified by the disgraced confessor, had preceded them, and finding the Count Palatine asleep, had assured himself of an easy prey, and would have stabbed him, when the faithful Gemmingen, who had been on the watch unseen in a corner of the room, made a dash at him, unmasked and flung him to the ground; while the Count woke and sprang up, and Geispitzheim rushed in, having been on guard at a door on the other side. The two knights who were bringing Ludwig, finding their plot frustrated, fled by the winding stair, their victim falling in a dead faint on the floor. All was confusion—the physician was loudly called for, Kemnat and others hurried in, and in the hubbub the conspirators made good their escape. The whole plot was subsequently unravelled and the guilt brought home to the Lützelsteins, and all would have been well but for the unfortunate effects of the shock on Ludwig's sensitive temperament. A feverish or nervous attack laid such hold on him that he could

not shake it off, and it was believed to have hastened his end.

Wild and exaggerated as much of the story may be, it must surely have had some foundation in fact, and is worth narrating for the sidelight it throws on the state of society in which such tales were told and believed.

Whom the gods love die young, and it was perhaps a happy thing for Ludwig the Gentle that he was taken away from the evil to come; for before the end of his reign storm-clouds were gathering on every side, and it needed a stronger hand and a sterner spirit than his to cope with them, wise and courageous though he had already shown himself. His brother Friedrich was ever a fighter, and is known to history as the Victorious, for he never lost a battle. Yet he was more than the mere soldier, but a man of action, knowing well that often war is the only road to peace.

At the time of his accession to power he was four-and-twenty, handsome and tall, chivalrous and of a knightly presence, loving books, yet delighting in active life, a practical soldier, and a capable man of affairs. We may, I think, set aside the doubtful portrait in the Castle Museum, which represents an exceedingly plain man of a timid and depressed countenance, and does not in the least correspond with the later, better-authenticated one depicting him in his robes, nor with the strong characteristic head painted by Altdorfer. He had been well trained by Mathias Kemnat in all the learning of the schools, no light matter in the middle of the fifteenth century, and he loved art and music. He was, moreover, drilled in knightly exercises by his Governor for Manners, Hans Ernst, Landschad von Steinach. It would be interesting to know whether he passed much of his boyhood in the Mittelburg at Neckarsteinach, or stayed at the Schwalbennest, perched high there among the woods above the river. Very likely he did, as it was usual to send young princes to board in the houses of the nobility, that they might be trained far from the distractions of the Court; and doubtless the lad learned to hunt the stag and the

wild boar in the forests that stretch over the hills to the northward.

Besides these personal advantages Friedrich possessed two supreme gifts, one which we are apt to describe as luck, but rather means the power to seize the flying opportunity, to decide promptly, to will and act without faltering, and to this he owed his cognomen of the Victorious and the singular fact that through all his twelve years' fighting he was never beaten. The other sent him down to posterity with the halo of romance. Tales gathered about his name as they do round the memories of those whom the people love; the favourite of the Court, he was the darling of the populace, and knew how to attach to his person all those who served him: his tutor adored him, and he won and kept without shadow of jealousy the love of his brother and his brother's son whom he supplanted.

The cautious historian, Dr. Häusser, is a little afraid of being dazzled by the exploits of this hero of romance, and extracts from his numerous biographies only the most unquestioned facts, leading the reader through a somewhat wearisome narrative of half-forgotten feuds and continual petty wars. Friedrich's story, however, has not wanted for enthusiastic narrators either of his own time or later; besides the Chronicles of Trithemius and Hachenberg there are three contemporary biographies; that of his fond tutor Kemnat, a rhyming and rather poor narrative by Michael Beham, and an anonymous memoir drawn upon by Kremer in his "Biography of Kurfurst Friedrich," published at Leipsic in 1765; Leger also refers to one by Mark Aurel, published at Leipsic in 1796, from which he takes his story of the Vehm Gericht. In fact, Friedrich's life is far too rich in detail to be done justice to in a short passage of a general history, and demands a separate book. The most that can be attempted here is to sketch it lightly, trying to give its salient features.

As he looked round him after his brother's death he saw himself threatened on many sides. Wilhelm and Jakob von Lützelstein were gnashing their teeth at the failure

of their plot for his overthrow, and resenting bitterly the position of vassalage to which his brother had reduced them. His cousins of Veldenz, the sons of his uncle Stephan of Zweibrücken, were quarrelling with him about property, and seizing the occasion to make common cause with his enemies, and there were murmurs of jealousy from his neighbours of Baden and Brandenburg. The first thing he needed was a free hand: his position during a long minority would be to a certain extent fettered; he wanted a standing army which should follow him as its only leader, and he needed the power to impose taxes. The right of primogeniture had never got fully acknowledged in the Palatinate, and now, if ever, was a case to set it aside. He looked back to the example of his great ancestor Ruprecht the Elder, and felt there was a precedent for his demand. It was not for self-aggrandizement nor to the injury of his young nephew that he asked to be made Elector in his own right, but rather to give him power to guard more effectually both ward and realm.

He called a great meeting of nobles at Oppenheim to discuss the question, and later another at Spires; but it was some time before any decision was arrived at. The meeting was composed of the leading nobility of the Palatinate, the Bishops of Spires and Worms, the Burg-Graf of Alzei, and the Bailiffs of Bacharach, Caub, Lauterbrunnen, and other places on the Rhine; but there seems to have been no representation either of citizens or of the cultivators of the soil, though one of the questions considered was that of taxation. This is the first time taxation finds mention in the records of the Palatinate; formerly the expenses of government would seem to have been met by feudal dues or by the spoils of war.

There was much to consider, and the question was not one to be settled offhand, so after full discussion it was postponed until January, 1451, when a large gathering was summoned to meet in the Knights' Hall in Heidelberg Castle, and Friedrich appeared before his vassals with his baby nephew on his arm, to demand their suffrages, and

was greeted with the cry, " You must be our Elector ! " He answered, " I will, and your father, boy." He then swore to respect the rights of his brother's son, to adopt him as his own, and never to marry, that there might be no other heir to dispute the succession with Philip.

Philip's mother declared herself quite satisfied with the arrangement, and the next step was to obtain the assent of the Emperor ; but Friedrich III., who was known as " the Nightcap," from his habit of dropping asleep at the Council Board, with the unaccountableness and tiresome perversity of a weak man when he chooses to exert himself, refused. This of course he had a right to do, but it was not the part of wisdom, for the Count Palatine not only had the full consent of the mother of the heir and of his own nobles, but was acknowledged by the Pope and also by his fellow Electors. Relying therefore on support at home and abroad, he resolved to defy the Emperor, and proceeded to put himself in a posture of defence, collecting and organizing an army as rapidly as possible, and adding to the fortifications of the castle.

Three towers were erected on the eastern side, and connected by a broad wall, below which ran a moat. Part of the octagonal or bell tower was already in existence, but he heightened it, and also built the Apothecary Tower and the mighty one at the north-east corner which now lies in ruins and is known as the Cleft Tower (die Gesprengte Thurm), from its lamentable condition. The lower portion, now rent in twain, shows tiers of massive vaulting, springing from a huge central pillar which still remains ; it rests upon a foundation of solid granite. It is thought that the oldest watch tower of the castle stood on this site, and Friedrich may have only strengthened and raised one already existing. A strongly fortified wall was carried from the south-eastern corner of the castle down to Schlierburg ; remains of this are still to be traced, though the greater part was destroyed at the siege in the Orleans War. To the south-west strong defences were erected crossing the Lesser Geisberg below the old castle, consisting of a wall connecting two towers, now

entirely demolished, one of which Friedrich named the Trutz Kaiser or Defiance to the Emperor, the other Trutz Bayern (Defiance to Bavaria).

It was well that Friedrich was ready for the worst, for soon he had to encounter a league of thirteen princes who, emboldened by the attitude of the Emperor, had banded themselves together for his destruction. To disentangle the complication of quarrels in which Friedrich was involved would be not only wearisome, but far beyond the limits of this story. Some were of minor matters, such as the dowry of his sister-in-law, which on her third marriage should have passed to her son, but which her new husband tried to retain; some touching his very existence as Elector. One ally he unluckily turned into an enemy by an outburst of temper. One of the knights of the Palatinate, a personal follower of his own, Count von Horneck, was accused of robber brawls at a gathering of the princes at Bamberg. His accuser, the Margrave of Brandenburg, insolently observed "Horneck was a ruffian, and so too was he who supported him." Friedrich, enraged, sprang to meet the challenge with the words, "You lie like a butcher: I am a pious and honourable prince," and it was with difficulty that bloodshed on the spot was averted by the bystanders. But if Friedrich was swift to quarrel, he was no less swift to be reconciled, as he showed in the affair of Archbishop Diether of Mayence. When the latter was valiantly standing up for the rights of the German bishoprics against the encroachments of the Curia, Friedrich at first went against him, but seeing his error visited him in Mayence in order to make peace with him, and joined him in the attempt to put down organized robbery in his jurisdiction, and also in trying to curtail the dangerous powers of the Vehm Gericht.

Friedrich's enemies were many, his allies few, and it took him long, with the aid of Ludwig of Bavaria and the Bishops of Spires and Worms, to make head against the hordes of mercenary troops which were threatening his dominions from Alsace on the one side and Swabia on the other, and laying waste the country all along the

Bergstrasse and through the valley of the Rhine from Bacharach to Mayence. At length a decisive victory at Pfeddersheim crowned his arms, and his foes found themselves obliged to sue for peace, which was concluded at Baden in 1461.

It was, however, but a short breathing-space, and soon he found that he had Pope as well as Emperor arrayed against him. Æneas Sylvius had assumed the tiara as Pius II.: he was a man of whom most contradictory opinions have been held, hailed by some as one of the great lights of the Renaissance, by others he has been dubbed the Judas of Germany. He had been much in Germany as Papal Legate before his elevation, and had also been Chancellor of the Heidelberg University, which gave him opportunity to attach the powerful Elector Palatine to his policy. Friedrich's devotion to the Church and dread of schism was equal to his patriotism, and for a time he supported Pius in his contest with the German bishops. Later he recognized that it was rather a political than a religious question, and when the Pope refused to acknowledge Diether of Mayence by the bestowal of the pallium, and intruded a new bishop, Adolf of Nassau, Canon of Mayence, to be Archbishop in his room, Friedrich supported Diether by force of arms. He now found himself threatened with the Papal Ban, which to so good a Catholic was a very serious matter, unless he would abandon Diether and relinquish all his conquests on the Bergstrasse; and his confederate foes took advantage of his embarrassments to declare war upon him afresh in the name of the Emperor. For the Emperor himself was but a name, and only escaped deposition because the princes of the Empire thought they could govern as well without any.

Once more the mercenary troops of the allies ravaged the country: the vineyards which then clothed the slopes of the Geisberg and the Jettenbühel were devastated, cornfields burnt unreaped, and Heidelberg itself was menaced while the valiant Elector was believed to be far away. But Friedrich, ever wary and swift, brought down his

troops by a rapid movement, and got the enemy penned into a trap of their own choosing between Rhine and Neckar; and there on the field of Seckenheim, not far from Schwetzingen, was fought a desperate fight which ended in victory for the Palatinate.

In the lists of honour of those who fought that day appear the names of all the leading nobility—Sickingen, Gemmingen, Berlichingen, Hirschhorn, and many more, including the Burg-Graf Johann. Glorious was the entry of the victors into Heidelberg, bearing with them many notable prisoners to be lodged in the castle dungeons or in the fortress near Mannheim, which had once been the prison of a Pope. Great was the jubilation over this last grand fight, for "One red victory years of peace maintained." The opposing army melted away like last year's snow, and the prisoners humbly treated for ransom. Before they left the story goes that Friedrich made them a banquet in the great König Saal, at which no bread was served, but only meat. Surprised at the oversight, the guests called for bread, but none was forthcoming, and the host from the head of the table dryly remarked that as the harvest for that year had been utterly destroyed there was none, adding significantly, "With what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again."

Peace gave Friedrich opportunity to show his quality as ruler, and he now gave his attention to internal affairs. He had largely increased his dominions by conquest, and for the due ordering of these scattered acquisitions he proceeded to appoint seventeen bailiffs, chosen from among the nobility. This had the double advantage of providing for orderly government of outlying portions, and of attaching to his service the most powerful and therefore most restless of his subjects. He also completely reorganized the Courts of Justice, and established the administration of the law on a sound basis. He rebuilt the old Rath-Haus in stone; being formerly of wood, it had been burnt down. By his economy in financial matters he sought to heal the waste of war; nor was he idle as regards the castle, for besides the fortifications

already mentioned he enlarged and beautified Ruprecht's chapel, where now the Great Tun stands, and lengthened it eastward on the site of the later chapel in the Friedrich's Bau.

In 1467 Philip came of age, and in an assembly of the notables of the Palatinate declared his full assent to his uncle's rule, a declaration which he renewed a few years later, no one paying the smallest heed to the futile deposition which the Emperor promulgated at Frankfort.

Friedrich's promise to his nephew precluded him from seeking a princely alliance; it did not, however, cut him off from all domestic happiness, for he made a morganatic marriage with Clara Dettin, or more correctly Tott, an Augsburg lady well connected and of brilliant gifts, who had been Maid of Honour at Munich at the Court of Albrecht III., where probably Friedrich met and was fascinated by her. Her beauty and charm, her cultivated mind and accomplishments, have been celebrated by poets and recorded by grave historians. Her singing was exquisite, and Friedrich, who loved music, called her his songstress. He bought for her and settled on her a house and garden on the slope of the hill at the beginning of the Schlossweg, called Bremeneck, where now stands a students' tavern, and here she lived with him as his mistress, a wife in all but name. This was how she was spoken of by Mathias Kemnat: "Clare von Sitten, clare von Gütigkeit, clar wolredent, clare von Süssigkeit und Trewekeit, clare über die hohen Weiber, schamhaft, demüthig, mesig, sanfftmüthig, schimper und clare in allen guten Sachen, clare in allen Tugenden, allerclerste in Weisheit und Vernunft. Die Clara hilt sich in allen claren Sachen also, dass sie von meniglich gelobt und lieb gehabt." This is untranslateable, depending on the play upon her name; it may, however, be rendered: "Shining in virtue, shining in kindliness, shining in eloquence, shining in sweetness and loyalty; shining above the highest of women, modest, humble, temperate, gentle, chaste and shining in all good things, shining in all virtues, and most of all in Wisdom and Reason. Clara so bears herself

in all bright things that she is praised and beloved by many."

After a few years, with Philip's full consent, he made her his true wife with the sanction of the Church, and his children were legitimated by the Pope; but the marriage was of course morganatic and carried with it no political rights. He had two sons by her, who both studied at the Heidelberg University. The elder, who was destined for the priesthood, died at the age of fifteen; the other inherited a modest patrimony which had been settled on the mother, and was made Count von Löwenstein by his cousin the Elector Philip. He was left in the guardianship of his father's old friend, the Landschad von Steinach.

After so strenuous a life it is sad to find Friedrich's latter years enfeebled by illness; they were spent in great retirement and frequent visits to the Cloister of the Barefoot Friars. It would seem this must have been reformed since the days when it was the haunt of his enemies. In the church of this monastery he prepared his tomb, and there he was laid in what should have been the prime of his days, in December, 1476, when only fifty-one.

VI

A PEACEFUL INTERLUDE

THE fighting years of Friedrich the Victorious led the way to a settled peace of three decades, two of which passed under the quiet steady rule of his nephew and successor, Philip the Upright, during which the town grew and flourished, learning made great strides, and the Court became the centre of cultivation and refinement, as well as the scene of brilliant tournaments, hunting parties, and knightly exercises; it was, in fact, a sort of meeting-point of the influences of Chivalry and of the Renaissance, under a ruler whose character was formed in the hard school of war, but whose taste made him ready to welcome the incoming tide. For he was a lover of books and a lover of building, one whose home was always open to men of learning, and he was most anxious to educate his numerous sons as mirrors of the best culture of the day.

Philip must have been a wise man and a tactful, since he filled so well the difficult position of heir apparent, who had himself admittedly the best right to the throne, and could have commanded the Emperor's support had he chosen to put forward his own claim. But he looked on his uncle as a father, and not only acquiesced whole-heartedly in his rule, but never suffered himself to become the centre of any party or cabal which might have stirred up strife. He had his own sphere of influence during his uncle's lifetime in the Upper Palatinate, and after his marriage made his home at Amberg, which after his day became the recognized province of the Electoral Prince, a school and practising ground, as it were, of government. With all Philip's submissiveness, he could be firm on due

cause, and when of an age to choose for himself rejected the betrothal arranged for him in his boyhood with Ottilie von Katzenelnbogen, whose property on the Rhine, Main, and Lahn would have been an important accession to the Palatinate. A glance at any old map of the region will show how greatly the power of the Palatinate must have suffered by the scattered nature of its possessions, and the intrusion into what should have been their borders by the estates of the Church or of independent lay-holders. It must have been a great disappointment to Friedrich, who was so anxious to consolidate the principality, when his nephew, for whose ultimate advantage all was arranged, suffered his heart to govern his head, and fell in love with Margaret of Bavaria, daughter of his uncle's old ally. The marriage was in many respects an unfortunate one, as it not only caused him to miss the material acquisitions Ottilie would have brought, but it involved him later in a fatal war of succession on behalf of his third son Ruprecht. From the personal point of view it seems to have been a happy one, and Margaret bore him fourteen children, of whom nine were sons, so no one could have foretold that his line would die out in two generations.

Meanwhile all was peace and prosperity, and the old Castle must have resounded with merry voices as the troop of children increased and the young princes grew up to take their part in joust and tourney, in hunting and hawking in the woods around. Although the library was of his designing, and much of the important work carried to completion by his son Ludwig V. was of his planning, Philip did not himself add much to the building of the Castle, but he devoted a good deal of attention to the decoration of the interior,* and as during the fifteenth century the taste for art and ornament and luxurious surroundings was making great strides, we may picture a life led in a rich setting of beautiful things, of pictures and stained glass, of wrought iron from Nuremberg, of tapestry hangings and cushions in silk and velvet, of illuminated

* *Führer für Fremde*, by Leger.

manuscripts and books finely bound, of tables adorned with massive silver dishes and drinking cups, and antique glass in which the Rhine wine glowed amber or red.

Leger borrows from some old chronicler an account of a brilliant tournament held in Heidelberg on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1481, by the Society of Rhenish Knights against the Swabian Association. The jousting ground was the broad level space called the Herren Garten, afterwards the Pflöck, lying between the Anlage and the Hauptstrasse, close to where the English chapel now is. Six hundred men-at-arms kept the lists, and on three preliminary days jousts were held, in one of which the Elector Philip met his brother-in-law, Duke George of Bavaria, and the two combatants overthrew each other. Wednesday the 29th of August was the great day, when the Swabians encountered the Rhinelanders in such numbers that half had to joust in the morning and half in the afternoon. There were five princes, twenty counts, four barons, sixty-nine knights, and three hundred and fifty-eight noblemen engaged in the contest, while the Electress Margaretha, with a hundred and fourteen princesses and noble ladies, looked on to applaud the victors.

Next day there was a gorgeous banquet at seventy-eight tables, but the list of guests and the order of precedence which is carefully recorded, down to the ninety Maids of Honour who sat at the lowest table, is too long to insert, interesting though it is, containing so many names that appear and reappear in history. On the last day was the bestowal of the prizes on the victors by the ladies who queened the show, and the festivities wound up with a dance in the great hall. The number of horses accommodated at the old Marstall in the Heu Gasse, or elsewhere in the town, was reckoned at three thousand four hundred and ninety-nine.

Those were the gorgeous days of the Emperor Max, and some few years later he visited Heidelberg, and was right royally entertained in the Castle. The new Elector Palatine held a very different position to that of his uncle, who had died under ban of Pope and Emperor; Philip took

his official part in the election and coronation of Maximilian, and was on very friendly terms with him until he was tempted into a disastrous and unpatriotic policy by the King of France. In this Philip certainly did not show his wisdom nor the uprightness for which he was famed. To dally with the friendship of France had always been a temptation to the Counts Palatine; situated on the borders, and with a position approaching at times to semi-independence, on any pressure from their lawful suzerain on the one hand, they were disposed to hold out the other hand to France, as though with a view to enhancing their importance. Maximilian had made himself a power more real and effective than any that had been felt in Germany for many a day, and the princes who had for so long had almost a free hand grew restive. Philip may have fancied that an alliance with France would strengthen his position towards the Emperor, but it rather weakened it by putting him in an invidious position and rendering him less trustworthy, and it certainly was not fitting that the Elector Palatine should become a pensioner of the French crown. It was not much wonder that when the Emperor went to Italy he left his son the Archduke Philip entrusted with full powers, ignoring the ancient title of the Count Palatine to be deputy ruler.

If Philip's foreign policy was blameworthy, his administration of his dominions was excellent. He extended to the Upper Palatinate the benefits of the reorganized Courts of Justice which his predecessor had set up, and appointed Assizes to be held in Amberg twice a year. He also endeavoured to curb the activity of the Vehm Gericht, and bring it within the bounds of orderly legal precedure. In his time the study of Roman Law was being brought in, and the old German Rights which had grown slowly up by custom and precedent were being superseded by the code of Justinian.* The Heidelberg University had an important Faculty of Jurisprudence.

A practical improvement of Philip's was to organize a

* *Fest Rede: Reception des Römischen Rechts in Deutschland*, Dr. Otto Karlowa. *Geschichte des Deutschen Volks*, Janssen.

regular police force for the town which might keep in check the riotous temper of the people, who were continually coming into collision with the students. Another very important measure was to establish rules for preventing the spread of infectious diseases. So reckless were people in those days that during an outbreak of the plague in 1491 sick and well were frequenting the same baths, taverns, and barbers' shops, and using drinking vessels and utensils in common. This and such-like things were put an end to by the new regulations.

In spite of Philip's artistic tastes and the gorgeous ceremonial of such occasions as the grand tournament, or the banquet to the Emperor, the Court life was simple compared with that of the seventeenth century, the number of Court officials and the extent of their emoluments very modest. Dr. Häusser gives some very interesting details as to the cost of living, the customs of the day, and the education of the young princes.

The Electoral Marshal, one of the first Court officials, besides free quarters and the use of the garden at Strahlenburg, received no more than a modest allowance of corn, wine, hay, straw, and—sixteen gulden in money! Other Court functionaries were remunerated according to the same scale. The feudal custom still obtained of keeping a certain number of knights who should undertake to bring so many riders into the field either for war or state, and these received sums varying according to their rank and the number of their cavalry. The salaries of the Electoral Councillors and the learned Professors and Jurists who had Court appointments were arranged in accordance with the importance of their position. A certain Doctor Adolf Otto von Friesen, who was Court Physician and Councillor, received, beside board and lodging, a Court dress and forage for his horse, the sum of two hundred gulden, at that time a considerable one. The famous Johann Reuchlin, who in 1497 was made Councillor and Governor to the princes, received, beside his Court dress and keep for two horses, a salary of a hundred gulden. There were no sinecures; every one

had to give good service for what he received; the Electoral Physician, Hermann von Neuss, who had a similar salary, was expected to fill a professorial chair in the University, and at the same time was responsible for the health of both the Elector Palatine and the heir; in case of illness he was to attend to the dispensing of the medicines himself and see that none but good and pure materials were used, and moreover must take an oversight of kitchen and cellar lest anything unwholesome might be administered.

The education of the young princes was on lines of great simplicity, though they were well taught, and had for their tutor the most learned man of the day. The pedagogue, such as Philip appointed for his younger sons in 1506, had quite a humble position: he was to instruct his pupils in books, good manners and good thoughts, to reprove them severely for unbecoming conduct, to see that they got up and went to bed in good time, and attended church regularly. For all this he was to receive but eighteen gulden. In the next generation a very similar course was observed; an account is extant of the education of Philip's grandson by his daughter Emilie, who had married a Pomeranian prince and sent her son to be brought up at the Court of her brother, Ludwig V. This young gentleman was to rise in summer at six, in winter at seven o'clock; when he had been combed and washed and said his prayers he had a lesson in grammar; Mass and a sermon followed, and then dinner. After dinner an hour's lesson in poetry, then what was called the Untertrunk was given him; at two came another lesson in philosophy, rhetoric or history; from three to four he amused himself; after supper, which was at four, he learned a piece of Latin "or something merry" by heart; at seven in winter, at eight in summer, he took a "schlaftrunk," which we can hardly call a sleeping potion, probably merely a cup of wine; and after an hour he went to bed.

When the princes were grown up they were still carefully schooled, for when in the year 1500 Ludwig, then

in his twenty-second year, was sent out into the world to visit the Imperial Court, Johannes von Morsheim, who had been one of his governors under Reuchlin, was appointed his chamberlain, with considerable authority to watch over him and see that he bore himself discreetly. The young prince was to receive his advice in all diplomatic matters, and to govern his suite in accordance with it. This office was much what used to be called in England a governor for manners.

The economy that was practised appears in the order-book for the House Steward for the year 1500. To him and to the Clerk of the Kitchen belonged the oversight of kitchen and cellar, but every detail was prescribed down to the disposal of waste meat, the purchase of fish for fast days, the number of eggs and vegetables to be used daily, and the salting of food for winter store. The Elector did not omit to order that every ration was to be of its due size, and the tin vessels containing the rations duly fastened. His economical spirit and careful attention to detail reminds the reader of English memoirs of the great Earl of Cork, who left a marvellous record of such little matters in his voluminous diary. There was a special official called tailor to the princes, who was rather wardrobe keeper, whose province it was to see that they had clean linen regularly and to mend their clothes, for which he received from eight to ten gulden and their cast-off garments.

There were as yet no Operas, Ballets, or Masques to waste money on, but Philip was as great a lover of music as his uncle had been, and had his "Capelle," which in this case can hardly be translated orchestra, as it seems to have consisted of a band of singing men and boys whose chief duty it was to render the old Church melodies. Lutes find no particular mention, but it can hardly be they did not have them, as in the neighbouring town of Nuremberg the manufactory of Conrad Gerla had a great reputation for them as early as 1466.

Care was bestowed on the keeping up of the castles and gardens at Mannheim, Schwetzingen, Rheinhausen, and

other places, though the Elector seldom visited them, preferring his beautiful home at Heidelberg. One curious fancy of the day is mentioned: the Electress Margaret had a little dwarf, Jungfer Kathrine, who after her mistress's death was provided for in the Convent of Liebenau. For her maintenance a sum of five gulden was paid, with six measures of corn, half a measure of wine, and a load of hay.

Philip's reign was a period of great importance in many ways, and in some of its aspects it must be dealt with more fully in later chapters; during the long peace of the earlier portion some of the newer influences which were soon to transform Germany took root in Heidelberg. His Court was the meeting-ground of three influences—the old Chivalry, the new Humanism, the preludings of the new Schism.

But Philip was not to end his days in peace; by 1503 the good days were over, and he had to buckle on his armour on behalf of his son. One of the fairest portions of the Wittelsbach property, over which the Palatinate had an ancient claim, Landshut in Bavaria, to which were joined the possessions of the Ingolstadt line, belonged to the brother of Margaret, Duke George, who was called the Rich, since he had not only a fine territory, comprising several towns, villages, and abbeys of importance, but a great treasure in money, jewels, and objects of art. He had no son, and was on bad terms with his next heir, Duke Albrecht of the Munich line; he had, however, an only daughter Elizabeth, a clever, high-spirited girl, and the idea occurred to him that by marrying her to one of her eight Palatinate cousins he might secure his territories to her heirs.

Ruprecht, the third son of Philip, an eager, ambitious lad, full of knightly qualities, had been destined for the Church, but it was a career for which he was quite unfitted, and since he had only taken minor orders the Pope made no difficulty about dispensing him from his vows, as he was the one on whom the choice of Duke George and his daughter had fallen. The marriage took

place hastily, but not without considerable brilliance, in Heidelberg in 1499.

Duke George immediately applied to the Emperor to sanction the appointment of his son-in-law as his heir, but Albrecht had been beforehand with him; in 1497, suspecting some plot was afoot to deprive him of his inheritance, he had already obtained from Max a guarantee of the succession. So matters remained till George was on his deathbed, and, sending for Ruprecht, invested him with a part of his dukedom and presented him to his subjects as his heir. He had summoned a meeting of representatives at Ingolstadt for St. Nicholas Day, 1503, to confirm the arrangement, but before the day came he was in his coffin. His death was kept secret for four days to give Ruprecht a chance to take possession. But matters were not to be adjusted so easily: the rival claimants were cited to appear before the Emperor at Augsburg in February, 1504; the Chancellor of Wurtemburg pleading Albrecht's cause, Leonhard von Egloffstein, Canon of Würzburg, that of Ruprecht. Max, meanwhile, from whom better things might have been expected, saw a good opportunity for fishing in troubled waters, and by negotiating with one and the other got for himself a good slice of Lower Bavaria.

For months negotiations dragged on, till Ruprecht's impatience broke bounds, and his young wife appearing with an armed force before Landshut, drove away the regency and took possession. News was brought to Max in Augsburg as he was sitting down to table. "I am sorry for the brave Prince and Princess," said he, for Elizabeth's pluck appealed to his chivalry, though he could not suffer his authority to be set at naught in so summary a fashion. They had nearly every one against them; the Elector Philip indeed felt he could not forsake his son, but his allies dropped away, and France, on whom he had counted, proved a broken reed; he only brought down the storm over the Palatinate as well as over his son's dominions. On Rhine and Neckar both, the country was attacked by the forces of the Emperor, with which

were joined those of Baden, Wurtemburg, Hesse, and Veldenz; Brandenburg and Nuremberg fell upon the northern province; while in Bavaria Albrecht himself, with the Swabian confederacy, held the Elector Palatine in check. Brunswick, Zweibrücken, Hohenlohe, Leiningen all joined in, for "when the oak falls every one comes to pick up sticks"; only the Margrave Christopher of Baden said he held his oath and his duty higher than lands or spoil.

The matter was hopeless from the outset; the war swept remorselessly over the Rhine provinces, the Odenwald, the Bergstrasse; all Friedrich's hardly won conquests melted away, and men must have sighed for a day of the Conqueror. Philip was overmatched, and the tragedy found its culmination when the young Ruprecht was seized with dysentery which had been raging in Landshut, and, worn out and discouraged, died on 21 August, 1504, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. With him died all hope of success: the next year the brave Elizabeth followed him to the grave, leaving her two baby boys, Otto Heinrich and Philip, heirs of a lost cause.

Nothing was left for the Elector Palatine but to abandon an untenable position, and with bitter humiliation he resolved to ask for a truce; it was granted through the mediation of his loyal friend Christopher of Baden, and he saw himself obliged to lay down his arms and submit himself to the decision of the Reichstag at Cologne. In the meanwhile he summoned a great meeting at Heidelberg of the prelates, counts, barons of his dominions, together with delegates from the towns, to advise with him on the critical position of the Palatinate. This assembly is of great importance in the history of the country, as not only had no such meeting of representatives been held for half a century, but it was almost the last of its kind. Philip himself was driven to it by necessity, but he perceived its value, for in his last testament he recommended his sons "to govern with the advice of the country"; they, however, considered it in the light of a shackle rather than a help, and when the need was taken off they

suffered it to fall into disuse. It was not till 1525, when the Peasant War had to be dealt with, that Ludwig V. summoned such an assembly. It might have made the Palatinate stronger against its foes and less liable to misgovernment had some such constitutional representation been made the rule rather than the exception.

Its counsel seems to have moved Philip to submission to the ruling of the Reichstag, that he might not throw the sword after the scabbard. His cause was pleaded by the good Elector of Saxony, and he was reconciled with the Emperor, but he had to pay a heavy price for his blunder. The children of Ruprecht received only a small portion of land on the Danube in the province of Neuburg, the remainder going to the Munich claimant. What remained of Duke George's rich possessions in the castles of Landshut and Burghausen in the way of treasures and movables his grandchildren were allowed to have, money, provisions, and ammunition being equally divided. Count Palatine Friedrich, Philip's fourth son, had been appointed guardian to the children and was to receive these things on their behalf, and during the valuation and division was to hold certain towns in pledge. As regards the Palatinate, all the hard-won conquests of Friedrich the Victorious had to be given up, and it seemed the country must be thankful for small mercies in not seeing itself dismembered and deprived of its autonomy.

Sick, disheartened, broken with disappointment and grief, Philip retired from the Reichstag before the end of its deliberations, leaving his son Friedrich, who not only was personally interested as guardian to the little boys, but had been from his youth on most friendly terms with both the son and grandson of the Emperor, to represent him and obtain the best terms he could. He lost more indeed than the Reichstag would have taken from him, for he was so impoverished that he was compelled to sell or pledge much valuable property to his neighbours. One more humiliation was his portion; he had to see his ancient right of the vice-regency of the Empire taken from him and given to his Saxon rival. His health was com-

pletely broken : he had been suffering for long from the painful maladies of gout and stone, and soon after the conclusion of the negotiations he laid down the burden of a disappointed life which had opened so brilliantly on 28 February, 1508, in the sixtieth year of his age. He died at Germersheim, but his body was brought to Heidelberg to be buried.

VII

THE GREAT BUILDERS

OF Philip's nine sons eight grew to manhood, and to provide for them all out of the resources of the Palatinate in its impoverished condition would have been ruinous; five, however, were destined for the Church, four of whom became bishops; but the youngest, Count Wolfgang, though educated with that view and taking the first steps towards it, devoted himself rather to secular study and led the life of a private gentleman, though remaining unmarried, and was somewhat inclined to favour the novel doctrines of Luther. The fate of the third son, Ruprecht, has just been narrated, and there remained the two, Ludwig and Friedrich, for whom their father destined the joint government, Ludwig as the elder becoming of course Elector Palatine; so once more two brothers and a nephew were to be associated in the administration. But Friedrich, who had travelled much and seen the ways of other Courts, was fully alive to the disadvantages of any such arrangement; he preferred to leave the Palatinate entirely to Ludwig and continue his travels, devoting himself when at home to the care of his nephews' interests. He was nevertheless of the greatest use to his brother in diplomatic affairs, from his close and friendly association with the Hapsburgs, much of his youth having been spent in the Netherlands, and later at the Court of Spain with the young King Charles, Maximilian's grandson.

The two brothers were a great contrast, and both had qualities very necessary for the difficult circumstances in which they found themselves. Ludwig inherited a diminished country at a moment of disadvantageous and barely

concluded peace, Friedrich the guardianship of his vanquished and despoiled nephews; but within a few years they had brought matters to a much more favourable condition. With the deaths of Philip and of Ruprecht much of the embittered feeling engendered by the war passed away; Max liked both the young men, and was disposed to deal favourably with them. Ludwig's qualities of good sense, moderation, and placable temper gained him the name of the Peaceful, while the more dazzling gifts of Friedrich won him friends, and his familiarity with foreign Courts enabled him to play a skilful part in diplomacy. He had already at the Diet at Cologne obtained for his father better terms than might have been expected, and by the sagacity with which he forestalled the Emperor's wish and proposed the choice of his grandson as King of the Romans, he brought about a better understanding than had existed for a long while between the Empire and the Palatinate. His brother had been more closely connected with the French Court, and was a little disposed to favour the claims which Francis I. was meditating on the succession to the Empire; but Friedrich travelled in haste to Heidelberg in order to put before him the mission he was making and induce him to appear at the Reichstag at Augsburg and give a decided support to the candidature of Charles. Like many of his predecessors, Ludwig may have thought to increase his own importance by threatening to uphold rival claims, and it may have been with the view of making his power felt that he half promised to support the candidature of Francis rather than, as Janssen believes, with the barefaced intention of selling his vote to the highest bidder. This meaner motive is the one attributed to him by the English Ambassador, Sir Robert Pace, who was for some time in Germany busily intriguing on his master's behalf; for Henry VIII. was also in the field, though his candidature was hardly seriously taken up. True it is unhappily that the election of an Emperor had become a matter of shameless bribery, and Friedrich's zeal was no doubt quickened by the liberality of Margaret, Regent of the

Netherlands, the aunt of Charles, who promised him 3000 gulden in gold if he could detach his brother from the French cause.

The connection of the two brothers with the Courts of France and Spain was so personal, and so much a factor in their political dealings, that it is well to go back a little to the circumstances of their education. Their father, himself a highly cultivated man, had no idea of letting his sons grow up in the comparative seclusion of a minor Court, though Heidelberg was at that time a centre of intellectual activity; so after having had them instructed by the most learned and brilliant scholar of the day, Johann Reuchlin, they were despatched abroad when old enough under the care of a governor or chamberlain to learn foreign manners and foreign languages—the grave, modest, shy Ludwig to the gay capital of the young French King, the more volatile Friedrich to the Court of the Archduke Philip to be the companion and friend of the serious and dignified Charles, and to have his high spirits tempered by the solemn etiquette of Spain. It is related in the annals of Hubertus Thomas Leodius that when Friedrich visited the French Court in the suite of the King of Spain, Queen Anne begged her husband to arrange an exchange; it would be, she thought, much pleasanter to keep the lively Friedrich, while shy Ludwig would be more in harmony with the melancholy King of Spain.

In pursuance of his peaceful policy Ludwig sought to re-establish his broken alliance with his Bavarian relations. As a child of eleven he had been betrothed to Sidonie, Duke Albrecht's eldest daughter, but the war had put a sudden end to all such schemes, and his intended bride died at the age of eighteen. At the Reichstag at Worms not long after his accession he made proposals for the hand of her sister Sybilla, and the marriage took place two years later in Heidelberg, with as much splendour as the diminished resources of the Palatinate would permit. A younger sister, Sabina, who was about to be married to Ulrich of Wurtemburg, accompanied her, and a few days after the wedding the bridal party, with a numerous suite,

proceeded to Stuttgart, where the other marriage was solemnized with great magnificence, both the Counts Palatine being present. Duke Albrecht of Munich dying shortly after, his sons more easily made peace with their cousins, and the still unsettled matters of division were concluded with speed in a friendly manner.

In 1519 Maximilian died, and Friedrich was very active in securing the election of Charles, darting hither and thither to watch over his interests, and even making his way into Frankfort in disguise, contrary to all law and usage, in order to keep the Electors, and especially his brother, up to their promises. On 28 June Charles was elected without a dissentient voice, and the Count Palatine had the pleasure of conveying the announcement to Spain. He was well rewarded for his services both before and after: no small thing for a younger brother who had, in a certain sense, to live by his wits.

He was a singular mixture, combining the newest culture of the age with a strong dash of the knight-errant; ever hopeful, always building castles in the air, yet often proving himself a skilful diplomatist, romantic and high-minded, yet not averse to accept presents for his services hardly to be distinguished from bribes—for he was an extravagant and therefore always a needy man; generous and untiring in the service of his friends, he wins regard, but cannot escape blame. His rewards, it is true, were not always for himself; on one occasion, having returned from a mission on which he had been sent to the Court of King Henry VIII. of England, he rode through a tremendous snowstorm before daybreak from Spires to Landau to beg from the Emperor Max the Bishopric of Spires for his brother George.

His life and adventures, which were far more interesting before he came to his inheritance than after, have been very fully set forth by his private secretary and confidential friend, Hubert Thomas of Lüttich, or Leodius, as he styled himself. He was eighteen when he was sent to complete his knightly training at the Court of the Archduke Philip, midway in age between Philip and his son

Charles and equally the friend of both, and from the Netherlands he proceeded to Spain. His bright wit, his pleasant temper, his accomplishments—for he was a first-rate rider and a fair performer on lute or cither; his attractive person—for he was very tall and handsome—recommended him, not only to the Spanish courtiers, but to the young princess Eleonora. An understanding quickly grew up, flowers and letters were exchanged, *sub rosa* indeed, but not so privately but that the flirtation became the talk of the Court. A landless prince, however, was no fitting match for the sister of the King of Spain, and Friedrich found himself dismissed with some contumely, and his desired princess hastily betrothed to the elderly and ugly King of Portugal.

That his reputation with his sovereign stood nevertheless as high as ever was proved by his appointment as Statthalter. Charles found with his unwieldy dominions, comprising Germany, the Netherlands, and Spain, such an office was essential. This new appointment seems somewhat to trench on the ancient right of Ludwig as Vicegerent of the Empire, but this had been taken from Philip and since had fallen into disuse, and the appointment does not seem to have been disputed by Ludwig, who presently joined his brother in Nuremberg, where he had set up his little Court, and in a somewhat riotous life was trying to drown his regrets for Eleonora.

Those were palmy days in Nuremberg, when Albrecht Dürer was painting, and Fischer, Veit Voss, and Adam Krafft were adding continually to the beauty of the churches and private houses. There were guild feasts, tourneys, processions, and festivities of every kind, and the two brothers took their part in the gay doings as long as funds held out; but soon Ludwig, who was now a widower, and who had no extravagant tastes but building, returned to his masons and his quiet life in Heidelberg; while Friedrich was forced to go on his travels again and see if he could not repair his fortunes by a rich marriage. His first love, Eleonora, had by this time been left a widow, so he journeyed to Spain to try his luck once more,

but in vain ; her hand was already promised to the King of France, and there may have been more ambition than romance in his attempt, for he quickly turned his thoughts to her sister Maria, the widowed Queen of Hungary. Here too he was foiled, and in a manner creditable to himself, for he indignantly refused the proposition made to him that in order to raise himself to sufficient rank he should endeavour to supplant his brother the Elector Palatine.

Finally, as a grey-bearded man past fifty, he obtained the hand of the niece of Eleonora, Dorothea, daughter of the King of Denmark. The bride travelled up the Rhine from Brabant, and was met in great state by Friedrich near Ladenburg and conducted to Heidelberg, where the Elector received her, and the marriage was solemnized by the Bishop of Spires " with music and the sound of the trumpet " ; for wine, game, and all kinds of provisions were much cheaper there than in Otto Heinrich's little principality of Neumarkt where Friedrich had his home, and whither he subsequently conducted his bride.

Unhappily Ludwig's peaceful reign, which was doing so much both for the country and for his splendid castle, was not to remain undisturbed : for some time trouble had been brewing on the Alsatian frontier with some robber knights, a class which, always troublesome, were becoming in those restless days a serious menace. Enjoying a semi-independent position, and descended from ancient families, they had in earlier times had a free hand and lived much as they chose ; but with the advance of civilization, the growth of towns, and the increasing power of the great nobles, the class was becoming squeezed out. Divided patrimony had impoverished many ; some still retained an old stronghold or two and made up a revenue by plunder ; some were landless men and free lances, whose swords were at the service of whoever could pay for them. These men were ripe for discontent.

Prominent among them was Götz von Berlichingen, whose name has been made familiar by Goethe's somewhat idealized portrait. Götz of the iron hand, his contemporaries dubbed him, for having lost a hand at

the siege of Landshut he had invented a steel hook to take its place. He had been twice under the ban of the Empire, once for plundering a party of Nuremberg merchants, once for taking prisoner Count Philip of Waldeck, whom he held to ransom. A Wurtemberger by birth, he was descended from an old Palatinate family, and was constantly in Heidelberg, haunting the Hirsch, a hostelry in the Market Place, and stirring up seditious feeling. Another whose connection with Heidelberg was close was Ulrich von Hutten, the friend and disciple of Erasmus, who belonged to an impoverished knightly family. He had been educated at the old monastery of Fulda, but resenting priestly vows he escaped, and for many years led the life of a wandering scholar, in the course of which he took service with Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence, where he met with Erasmus, and with Rubianus wrote the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*. Pugnacious, but of weak health, he fought rather with pen than with sword, and vehemently took up Reuchlin's quarrel with the University of Heidelberg. He was reckoned among the "Poets," as the younger Humanists were called. He made himself most effective by his influence on Franz von Sickingen, who headed the revolt of the knights. Franz was a more important personage than either of the others, possessing more than one strong fortress as well as considerable property on both banks of the Rhine. His family had been for generations loyal servants of the Counts Palatine, and the name often appears in Court functions or lists of knights in attendance on the Elector. It is difficult to estimate his character fairly between the enthusiasm of his friends and the scorn of his foes. He seems to have been ardent, visionary, magnanimous if wrong-headed, ready to espouse the cause of the oppressed peasantry as well as to stand up for his own order. His belief in himself and his own mission had something almost pathetic about it: he thought himself destined to head a revolution throughout Germany; he found himself involved in a petty feud which was easily crushed out by the Rhenish Electors. He had embraced

the teachings of Luther, and still more those of Huss, for his leanings were to political quite as much as to religious freedom. It was largely his influence that induced Luther to take up the irreconcilable position he did at the Diet of Worms; but when the strained situation broke into organized strife, Luther disavowed him.

Ludwig was by no means without sympathy either with the oppressed condition of the peasantry or with the growing desire for reforms in Church and State; but not all his strivings for conciliation would avail to avert hostilities, which began with a foolish attempt of Sickingen's to take the castle of Lützenstein, in which he was entirely foiled. War was now inevitable, and Ludwig, with the Archbishop of Trêves and the Duke of Hesse, collected a small force at Kreuznach in order to surprise Sickingen in the fortress of Landstuhl, to which he had retired. The Palatinate troops took the lead, Eberhard von Schenk of Erbach attacking on one side, and Ludwig approaching by another route, reinforced by his brother Wolfgang and his nephew Otto Heinrich, now of an age to take his share in active affairs; while Count Friedrich remained in the Upper Palatinate to keep a wary eye on the disaffected knights on his borders, many of whom were in league with the insurgents.

The rebel trusted to the strength of his fortress to weary out the patience of the besiegers; but not even his fourteen-foot-thick walls would stand against the assault of the newest inventions in artillery which were brought to bear, and on the second day his outer wall already lay in ruins. Franz himself, an heroic figure if misguided, came out to see what could be done to repair them, when a falling beam struck him down with a fatal wound in his side. The expected succour did not come, the commander lay dying in one of the vaults, and there was no choice but to surrender. The victors found the man who might have proved so formidable a foe almost at his last gasp, though he still had strength and courage to answer boldly to the reproaches addressed him. The next day, 7 May, he died, leaving a headless conspiracy and a hopeless cause, for

his friend Ulrich von Hutten fled to Basel to Erasmus, who received him coldly, and from thence to Zurich, where Zwinglius supported him, and where the following year he died. Sickingen's estates on the Rhine were confiscated and divided between the victors, the Elector Palatine taking those on the left bank of the Rhine, those on the right falling to the Duke of Hesse.

Troubles of this sort, however, far from being over, were but just beginning; a far more serious disaffection was spreading amongst the peasantry throughout the whole of southern Germany, and had the movement been able to unite itself with that of von Sickingen it might have grown to a revolution of a very serious character. The position of the peasantry had been steadily deteriorating throughout the previous century; anciently the peasant was possessed of valuable rights, and was quite the equal of the guild-fellow of the towns; he might bear arms and take his part in public affairs in the meetings of Marks and Hundreds; he had a fairly prosperous life in times of peace, living well, with meat and wine twice a day, and dressing, to judge by old illustrations, in warm and gay clothing. Amusement, too, was not lacking; fairs, wakes, dancing, and contests with the cross-bow were frequent, and living under the protection of a feudal lord, either lay or clerical, he was defended from the depredations of the robber barons. But now many causes had brought about a change; the land had been devastated for many years by war, and whichever side got the advantage the fields of the peasant suffered; moreover, the introduction of the Roman Law, which was more and more supplanting the old German traditional rights and customs, was gradually but surely undermining the position of the peasant class and tending to reduce them to the position of serfs.* The growth of luxury too had contributed to lay upon them burdens heavy and grievous to be borne. The Church, anciently the protector of the poor, growing in worldly power and dominion, and vying with the secular arm, had come to be another oppressor.

* *Geschichte des Deutschen Volks*, Janssen.

After long mutterings the peasants had come to see the value of combination, and in many parts confederations, with the wooden shoe (Bundschuh) for their emblem, began to be formed. These formulated a definite programme of demands, known as the Twelve Articles, and could they have held together and acted together under competent leadership, they might have made themselves a formidable power; but they wanted coherence, and their leaders, among whom the chief were Georg Metzler and Götz von Berlichingen, were entirely wanting in wisdom and statesmanlike qualities. Had they stood firm to moderate demands, much might have been granted them; but not even allowing time for consideration, they gave their cause away by outbreaks of a violent and savage nature in Breisgau and the Black Forest, in Franconia and the Odenwald, where they "swarmed like bees," and by their excesses estranged many who were disposed to listen to their demands.

These comprised free election of the clergy and "the preaching of the pure word of God," abolition of tithes and of serfdom, lightening of feudal service and dues, especially of mortmain, and abrogating of game-laws and fishery rights. The Preamble set forth the equality between the peasant and the highest in the land, "since Christ has redeemed and bought us all by His most precious Blood." Some of these things might have been granted them, but thinking to terrify the authorities into complete submission, they attacked the lands of the Church, put to flight the Bishops of Würzburg and Trêves, who took refuge in Heidelberg, and took the castles of Rothenburg and Kisslau and the town of Bruchsal, where they set up a provisional government. After wasting the Bruhrein with fire and sword, they swarmed across the Rhine and attacked Spires, when the Bishop himself repaired to their camp and proposed a truce. He would have been willing to buy off what remained to him with two hundred measures of bread, fifty-five tuns of wine, and a herd of cattle. But his disposition to yield only made the peasants more outrageous in their demands as

they felt their strength, and the rebellion spread to the western borders, where the Alsatians were ever restless and discontented.

Though in the Palatinate itself the peasants had far less to complain of than in other parts, and the insurrection there was more an organized plunder of the religious houses than a political movement, Ludwig, ever mild and merciful, was ready to give a hearing to their claims, feeling the substantial justice of many of them, and was loath to shed the blood of his own subjects; but the more he strove for moderation and mercy the more outrageous grew their demands, till at length he realized that there was nothing for it but strong measures, and he marched against them, accompanied by Otto Heinrich. His campaign was characterized by its freedom from all cruelty; he gave strict orders to his troops that neither town nor village was to be burnt, plundering was forbidden under penalties, and only the necessaries of life to be taken. The wisdom of firmness was soon apparent; Bruchsal quickly opened its gates, and other places followed suit and returned to their obedience. Neckarsulm attempted resistance, but brought face to face with the knighthood of Heidelberg, the peasants, though in the more advantageous position, fled in panic and were put to death, "like a slaughter of pigs," for few heeded Ludwig's merciful desire not to shed the blood of his subjects. Their leader, Götz von Berlichingen, who was to have prevented the junction of the Swabian and Palatinate troops, secretly departed in the night of the 29th, leaving the peasants to make the best terms they could for themselves.

Another bloody battle cleared the road to Würzburg, and the insurgents had to submit to tenfold harder conditions than Ludwig would have imposed upon them, seventy of their leaders being put to death, and themselves reduced under a much harsher rule than heretofore. In his own dominions, however, the Elector Palatine sought to establish a more lasting peace by lightening some of their heaviest burdens. He held a meeting at Heidelberg,

and set before the representatives of the country how much better it would be to prevent than to crush out such movements; he could not induce the owners of tithes to relinquish them, but they undertook to avoid all excessive exactions, that there might be no excuse for such outbreaks in the future.

Ludwig's relations with his neighbours were uniformly friendly: no light matter in those days, when the Reformation was in the air. The line he took up in regard to that great movement, as well as all he did in behalf of his University, will find mention in another place. His chief title to honour is that of one of the greatest builders who added so richly to the Castle, both for strength and for glory. He saw troublous times coming, and he felt the necessity for fortifying his stronghold and carrying out the plans so well begun by his great-uncle, Friedrich the Victorious, which his father Philip had intended to complete. Moreover, building was his passion and chief delight; he threw himself into the work *con amore*, and his thirty years' reign saw the main design of the Castle carried out as it stands to this day, though within its circuit three magnificent piles were to rise later.

Starting from the octagonal tower in the north-east corner, called the Bell Tower, which was partially built by Friedrich I., though receiving its latest addition from Friedrich II., he erected the strong arsenal which lies below it of huge blocks of red sandstone, so strong that it stood two sieges. It was furnished with two tiers of loopholes for small-arm shooting. From thence he carried a wall, subsequently replaced or surmounted by the buildings of Friedrich IV., that by Johann Casimir holding the Great Tun, and the English palace of Friedrich V., to the north-west corner, where he completed the huge round tower known as the Thick, its massive walls measuring twenty-two Rhenish feet. This as well as the wall was designed and probably begun by Philip. It was originally built of wood and loam, called *fachwerk*, the great stones being added later, and had huge interior beams of corresponding strength; it bears several dates,

1531, 1533, 1541. It was seven storeys high, and the topmost one projected slightly, and became sixteen-sided, bearing a steep pointed roof, originally of wood. A tremendously strong stone pillar rested on the foundation of solid rock, and ran from top to bottom to support the mighty pile. The lower storeys were only lighted by narrow loopholes, the lowest of all not having even these, but gaining its only daylight from the entrance, which was to the north, protected by a small fort. The upper rooms were used as a prison, and reached by a staircase turret in the north-west angle. The roof has now fallen in, and the great tower is crowned with trees and bushes, wild pinks and blue campanulas softening the hoary roughness. Along the west side, upon the ancient rampart, Ludwig placed an earthwork furnished with guns, which was called the Stück Garten (Ordnance Garden), and was later transformed into the English Garden to please the English Elizabeth. In the midst was another strong round tower, commanding the Neckar valley to the westward, called the Rondel. This west wall remains intact: in the siege during the Orleans War the French guns could make no impression upon it; they only succeeded in destroying the Rondel. Beneath still remain portions of underground passages connecting the Thick Tower with the Rondel, and running from thence to the outer gate; these must have been of enormous importance in times of siege, as guns could be conveyed along them wherever most needed.

The fortifications were continued round to the south side, where they met the new bridge which was thrown across the moat, and the Bridge House and Gate Tower, begun by Friedrich I., were completed. The former has many points of interest and is in good preservation, as it has been made the residence of the custodian of the Castle, and in one of its upper rooms Count de Graimberg established his museum of antiquities relating to the Castle, which is now housed temporarily in the Otto Heinrich Bau till its permanent quarters in the restored Friedrich's Bau are ready. The lower floor contained

the guard-room, with a projecting window commanding views east, south, and west for the sentry on duty. Across the moat was formerly a covered bridge, which was destroyed in the French war: traces yet remain of the drawbridge. Some low ruined buildings to the east belong to this date, and were at one time used for wild beasts, which some of the Counts Palatine kept, but were probably originally intended for defence.

The Gate Tower on the inner side of the moat is a heavy foursquare building, adorned with a pair of gigantic figures of the watch in full armour, ugly and grim of visage, mounted on Gothic brackets. These were severely handled by the French. Two dates appear on the mouldings, 1531–41 and 1543. Several of the stones bear masons' marks, affording serviceable evidence to the learned as to the period of the building. The lowest room was used as a dungeon, perhaps before the Seltenleer (seldom empty), as it was ironically called, was built. It must have been of considerable strength, for the outside walls were eighteen feet thick and only pierced with loopholes for defence, and from a large room over the entrance the portcullis could be raised and lowered. From this tower access was given by a low arched passage to the underground way mentioned above. In the great solid door a little door was cut in which is an iron ring looking like a knocker, with a curious tradition; it is said that whoever could bite through the ring could make himself master of the Castle; but history forbears to mention whether either Tilly or Melac tried. From this point to the Cleft Tower Ludwig carried a broad wall, on the top of which a garden has now been planted, and with this completed the circle of the outer fortifications, the whole plan of which shows a genius for the science of defence.

Within the courtyard he built a small palace facing the Ruprecht Bau: this was considerably encroached upon later by the more ambitious structure of his nephew Otto Heinrich, and suffered a good deal in the Thirty Years

War, though restored by Karl Ludwig. The foundations show a suite of three large rooms, and the staircase turret remains intact. The most interesting feature is in the ground floor, where an original stained-glass window has escaped destruction; it bears a coat-of-arms dated 1524, on which, under the Lion of the Palatinate, two apes are vigorously pushing each other with their heads in a noose. Passages from the cellars connect this building with the Apotheker Thurm (Apothecary's Tower), where the dispensary was established, a necessary adjunct to every castle or fortified house, which might be shut away from outside help in time of siege, just when the functions and remedies of the physician were doubly in request. Ludwig built or restored the whole of the domestic offices, comprising several kitchens, a slaughter-house, bakery, forge for smiths and armourers, and quarters for the servants, the eastern portion containing lodgings for the Warden and other Court officials. The huge chimney, which still remains, bears witness to the extent of the cooking, and an old chronicler records that there was a great wheel or jack, turned by water power from the well outside, in which twelve or more joints could be roasted at once.

Over the well a well-house was built; of the granite pillars on which this rests a most interesting tradition has been handed down. According to the testimony of Sebastian Münster, himself born at Nieder Ingelheim, confirmed by the researches of Marquard Freher, a learned writer at the end of the sixteenth century, these pillars were brought by Philip from the ruins of Charlemagne's great palace at Ingelheim, whither they had been transported in the ninth century from that of Theodoric in Ravenna, that palace which is represented in mosaic on the walls of the ancient church of St. Apollinaris in Citta. This has been much disputed by recent investigators, principally on the ground that similar monoliths are found throughout Germany, and that granite of the same character is to be obtained near at hand; but this hardly appears conclusive, weighed against the testimony of a man who

CASTLE COURTYARD AT THE PRESENT DAY

Photo. by Ed. v. Konig.

had personal familiarity with the ruins which then remained at Ingelheim.*

Now that the outer fortifications were completed the inner rampart became unnecessary, so Ludwig cut through it to erect the beautiful tower, planned by his father, the studious Philip, to contain the Bibliotheca Palatina. To this purpose was devoted the principal room, with a lovely oriel window looking into the courtyard; another room was set apart for art treasures, another for the mint. The upper rooms were reached by a small spiral staircase, and could also be entered from the garden above the moat. The delicate tracery of one window still remains, and the fine star vaulting of the ceiling. Several wide, deeply recessed windows with stone seats looked towards the south and west, which must have made the rooms much more bright and sunny than those in the older portions of the castle. The walls were once covered with frescoes, for dim forms of ladies, knights, and horses may still be deciphered.

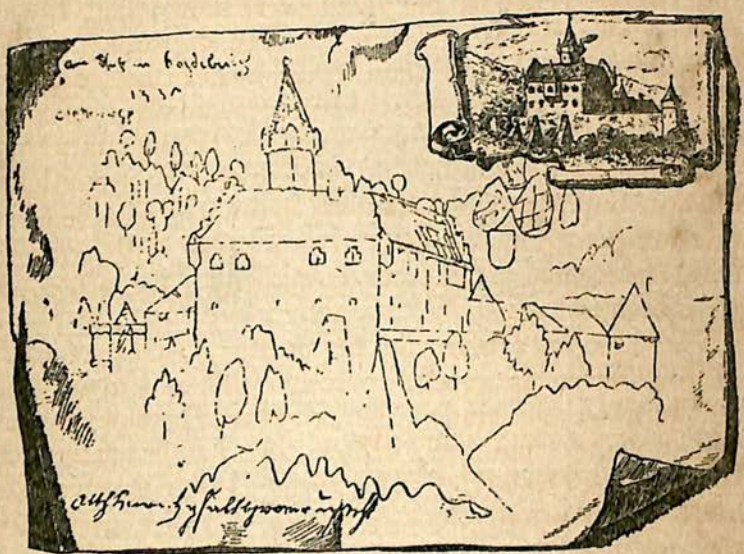
Between this and the north wall some small buildings had probably stood; these were now replaced by the great König Saal, formerly attributed to an earlier builder, Rudolf or Ludwig the Kelheimer, but now proved by masons' marks to belong to the time of Ludwig V. This great building has always been renovated and decorated for great festivals, the last occasion being the Quincentenary of the University, celebrated in 1885. Over this were rooms for the Electress's ladies and women servants, and at the end a withdrawing room over what was afterwards made the Fass Bau.

Hardly had Ludwig finished his new stronghold when the old one, the cradle of his race, came to a violent end. It had been made an arsenal, and its western tower was used to store gunpowder, and during a fearful storm on St. Mark's Day, 1537, it was struck by lightning and blown up. The Elector himself had a narrow escape, for

* *Poeta Saxo* in *Annalibusde Gestis Carroli* M. Imp. Lib. V. *de Vita et Obiter ejus.* Ermoldus Nigellus Abbas in *Vita Ludovici Pii.* *Cosmography*, Sebastian Münster.

his rooms in the lower castle were damaged by the falling masses of stone; fortunately he was not in them at the time.

The Counts Palatine were not a long-lived race, and Ludwig was some years short of seventy when an apoplectic fit ended his busy life, after some months' suffering from dropsy. He died on 15 March, 1544, and having no son was succeeded without question by his brother Friedrich, although, according to the Golden Bull, his



PEN-AND-INK SKETCH OF THE OLD CASTLE ON THE GEISBERG, BY OTTO HEINRICH, ELECTOR PALATINE

nephew Otto Heinrich should have been the next heir. The succession had been so arranged by the will of Philip the Upright, and Ruprecht's sons, Otto Heinrich and Philip, who had been Friedrich's wards, declared themselves content with the arrangement, and it was also sanctioned by the Emperor. Some jealousy between uncle and nephew declared itself, as Friedrich inclined to the old ways in Church matters and would at any rate have had reforming measures carried out with great moderation, having been always a great friend and sup-

porter of the Emperor Charles V.; while Otto Heinrich was a declared Protestant, and thereby much endeared to the citizens, who, influenced by Melancthon, were enthusiastic for the new doctrines. A plot to pass over Friedrich would have been easy, but Otto Heinrich refrained. But these matters belong rather to the story of the Reformation.

Friedrich was now past sixty, and had led for years a wandering life; the days of his activity were over, and the twelve years of his reign were unmarked by any striking events. His relation with the Hapsburgs, though less uniformly friendly than it had been in his youth, remained unbroken, in spite of his occasionally coquetting with a French alliance, the bane of the later Counts Palatine. He occupied himself a good deal in the completion of those buildings which Ludwig had not been able to see finished before his death, and the cipher C.F. with the date distinguishes the Gate Tower and some other portions of the Castle.

Then, having reproached his brother for extravagance in building, he proceeded to launch out in a new palace on the site of the Rudolf Bau, of which the chief portion was a magnificent hall, called from its decoration the Gläserne Saal Bau (Hall of Mirrors). It had seven round-headed windows overlooking the river, and a lovely oriel towards the east. He seems to have intended this to supplant his brother's new König Saal, for Leodius said, "Fredericus factus Elector egregium domum construxit, novum aulam appellant." The rest of the building was sacrificed to this, the lower storey, devoted to wardrobe rooms and offices, being very low-roofed. The façade is in loggia style, with beautiful arcading reminiscent of the Peller House in Nuremberg. Above the lowest row of arches is a group of three shields, one bearing Friedrich's coat-of-arms, with his motto "De cœlo victoria"; another that of his wife, Dorothea of Denmark, with her initials; the third quartered with the imperial apple or globe, permission to bear this having been granted to Friedrich by Charles V., probably in recognition of his

position as Statthalter. Above them is a helmet surmounted by the Lion of the Palatinate, and the whole is enclosed in a wreath of laurel. The decorations are a curious mixture of Gothic and Renaissance taste, full of frolic fancies, in which children ride on dolphins and syrens disport themselves in foliage. A beautiful chimney-piece belonging to this building is preserved in the old Ruprecht Bau.

Friedrich was already old for his age when at sixty he came to the throne, and towards the end of his life suffered greatly from a painful malady. His last public appearance was on his seventieth birthday, on which day also was celebrated a marriage in which he was much interested, between Count Philip of Hanau and Helena, daughter of the Count Palatine of Simmern. A great banquet was held in honour of both events in the König Saal, which his brother Ludwig had recently erected, not in his own hall of mirrors. Soon after this his illness gained upon him ; for many months he lay dying, and at last passed away at Alzei, his body being brought to Heidelberg to be buried according to old custom in the church of the Holy Ghost. The funeral was celebrated, by his nephew's desire, with as little as might be of the ancient Catholic rites.

The Catholic party would fain have set Otto Heinrich aside, as he was known to favour the new doctrines ; but the next heir was a still more pronounced Protestant, so his accession took place peacefully, and he entered on his inheritance 26 February, 1556.

His brief reign of three years has an immense importance as the turning-point from the old religion to the new, in which light it will be more fully considered later. It was also the culminating point of the Renaissance, of which he was himself a characteristic product. In architecture it stands, as it were, on the crest of the wave ; the richness and magnificence of his building are in strong contrast to the somewhat severe Gothic of his predecessors, while much less modern in taste than the additions of Friedrich IV. and V. His is the splendid pile on

THE OTTO HEINRICH BAU.

Old Print.

the east side of the courtyard, adjoining and almost swallowing up the more modest building of his uncle Ludwig. The lie of the ground entailed a curious slant from the square of the courtyard, and also caused the north end to be so much above the level that a steep flight of steps to the portal was necessary.

The façade was richly decorated, and for this the Elector was fortunate in securing the services of the sculptor Alexander Colin from Mechlin, who had already made himself a name by some marble bas-reliefs for the tomb of Maximilian in Innsbrück. The agreement with him was found among the archives in Karlsruhe, when in 1868 researches were made which brought to light many interesting facts. Colin's work is distinguished by close observation and delicate fancy, displayed in the carvings of foliage, flowers, and children, and also shows traces of Italian influence, notably that of Benvenuto Cellini, and also of study of the Greek marbles, which at this time were being so frequently unearthed in Sicily and Southern Italy. The columns at each side of the windows, arranged in pairs, are slim copies of some by Sansovino in Venice, and are exceedingly graceful. Between each pair of windows is a very simple niche with a light shell canopy, containing a statue less than life-size; the choice of these statues was characteristic of the tastes of the Elector. Hebrew and Greek heroes are mingled: Joshua, Samson, Hercules, David; and between them are figures symbolic of the cardinal virtues; Strength with a broken column; Faith with the Holy Scriptures; Love with a child on her arm; Hope with an anchor; Justice with the sword and scales. In another row stand Saturn, Mars, Venus, Mercury, Diana, and above, where the gable was, Pluto on the left hand, Jupiter on the right. Professor Hausmann (Georg Taylor) thus explains their significance: "On Power and Heroism rests the splendour of a princely house. That is the meaning of the heroes who support the whole, and it is the Virtues that adorn it. They stand as chief ornament in the midst. Over the house where a Higher Power rules, to Whom the members should look

up, are the Planets and Lights through whom the Divinity rules Day and Night." *

The details of the friezes are most delicate and lovely, and well repay close examination. Several of the statues still remain in position, though the roof has fallen in, and through many of the hollow rooms in the upper storey the blue sky may be seen from below. Within was a new Kaiser Saal and a Hall of Audience. Ruined as all now is, it still conveys an idea of lordly magnificence.

With Otto Heinrich ended the old line from Ludwig the son of the Emperor Ruprecht. He himself was childless, and his brother Philip, who had been distinguished in the wars against the encroaching Turks, had died unmarried. He had been one of the suitors for the hand of the Princess Mary of England, daughter of Henry VIII., and although in her then position, her mother having been repudiated, a Count Palatine would have been a match not to be despised, Henry, after encouraging it, suddenly and capriciously withdrew his consent. So the succession must pass to the Simmern line, whose representative was Friedrich, descended from Stephen of Simmern and Zweibrücken, the third son of Ruprecht III. Otto always saw in the dying out of the numerous issue of Philip the Upright the judgment of God for the part played by Ludwig III. in the execution of John Huss and Jerome of Prague.

So Otto Heinrich died, and was buried with his fathers according to the new Protestant rite, in the church of the Holy Ghost.

* *Clytia*, von Georg Taylor.

BOOK III

THE OLD LEARNING AND THE NEW

I

THE FOUNDING OF THE UNIVERSITY

IN the midst of the town, in a wide square surrounded with lime trees and sweet with their fragrance, stands the great, many-windowed, eighteenth-century building which is the centre of the life of the Heidelberg of to-day. For the builders whose story has been told built something besides palaces, something more enduring than the principality they carved out and consolidated; they established a Corporation of Learning, a Foundation of intellectual life, which has outlived both. The Castle stands in ruins on the hillside, Heidelberg has vanished from the pages of modern history; but as a training-ground for the intellect, a nursery of the highest scholarship of the day, it still holds its own, and in virtue of that the town has lost none of its ancient prestige.

For this comparatively modern building is only the heir and representative of a far more ancient corporation, though that older body had no local habitation; it was a building, not of stones, but of minds. The great hall and lecture-rooms of Karl Friedrich stand where of old the Augustinian Monastery stretched across the Ludwig's Platz to the Hexen Thurm (Witch Tower), so called because witches used to be imprisoned there. In early days lecture-halls and class-rooms were found in the various monastic houses around, and by degrees collegiate buildings were erected or adapted to meet the needs of the professors and of the growing libraries of the several Faculties.

Some years ago it was the fashion among historical writers to date the whole intellectual movement known as the Renaissance from the fall of Constantinople, and

ascribe all its energy to the consequent migration of Greek scholars to all the cities of Europe, forgetful of the fact that for centuries intercourse with Constantinople and the Greek islands had been kept up by the Crusades, and by the trade between Italy and the East which followed thereupon. Now students of history are coming more and more to see that this re-birth of Learning, this reawakening of mental activity from a stage of torpor, must be dated much further back; and while its true cause is to be sought in the natural growth and development of forces for which civilization provided soil and room, its proximate influences were three, of which the taking of Constantinople by the Turks was the latest and by no means the most important.

First came the growing desire for learning among all classes, which led to the establishment of universities: homes for learning under the control and patronage of the Church, yet not monastic, in which laymen could both learn and teach. These High Schools (Hoch Schule), or institutions for general study (General Studium), as they were called, were set up throughout Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, long before the Greek scholars were driven from their homes, and their influence on the growing youth of all those countries must have been deep and far-reaching. It was no longer needful for a man to renounce the world and become a monk in order to become a scholar, though the scheme of study was based on religion, and Theology and Canon Law were amongst its most important branches.

The next century, the fifteenth, saw an event of still more profound significance, the invention of printing, which made Learning the heritage of the many instead of the monopoly of the few, though, as Janssen has pointed out, it was wonderful how many possessed themselves of MS. copies of the classics before printing brought them within easy reach. And thirdly followed the spread of classical lore, which the Turks drove westward.

For the dawn of a love of Learning we must look far

back beyond the days of Ruprecht the Elder ; for in this region the lamp of Learning, though darkened for a while, had never been wholly put out. The Palatinate had been the seat of schools from early days when as yet Heidelberg was not. In the time of the Roman occupation the settlements at Neuenheim, Handschusheim, and Ladenburg, as well as the more distant and important cities of Treverum and Colonia, had their schools and their books without doubt. From the time of the invading Franks trickle down dim traditions of Sagas and of Scalds, and when the barbarians became civilized and Christianized there were the monastery schools and the Chronicles of the monks. When Charlemagne held his Court at Ingelheim there came a blossoming time for learning, for he was zealous in the establishment of schools in all parts of his dominion, and gathered about him learned men from afar, just as did our own King Alfred. Through the anarchic times that followed the lamp was not wholly extinguished, but flickered on, sheltered in monasteries from the rude breath of a world that was absorbed in fighting. With Conrad of Hohenstaufen comes something much more definite, the founding of schools—one in Heidelberg for boys, one at Stift Neuburg for girls of good birth. This was nearly two hundred years before the German universities came into being, and in these schools the classics were industriously studied through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Among the prime duties of the monks was the instruction of children of all classes, and in the earliest Catechisms and Confession books extant parents were exhorted to send their children regularly to school, where they would be instructed in reading, writing, reckoning, and Church singing. Later, when Germany had caught from Italy something of the enthusiasm for learning which was stirring through all Europe, came the founding of the Brotherhood of Common Life, which was set on foot by Gerhard Groot in 1431. The brothers were not priests, and were bound by no monkish vows, but were licensed as preachers and teachers of the people. They

were recognized by Pope Eugenius IV., and in a few years had spread all over Germany, instructing the youth of the country in Latin and the elements of education. In all schools of the Brothers religion was made the foundation-stone, and piety and learning went hand in hand. When a new school was founded and a competent master appointed, the children were divided into four classes; the first were to learn to read by a Handbüchlein (Horn-book ?), which contained the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the numerals. Then they learned to read Latin and to write, and got a few Latin words by heart. The second, or the Grammar class, studied Æsop's Fables and Terence, and committed some longer sentences to memory; the third class did Latin Poetry, advanced Grammar, and read Cicero and Sallust; the fourth went on into Greek. This sketch, however, represents what was taught when the schools had been some time in being; at first the course would not go beyond the elements of Latin.

Soon came a demand for something more advanced; the boy, if he wished to devote himself to study, had no choice but to enter a monastery and take the vows, and a need began to make itself felt for places where study could be carried on in the world. France had already shown the way in the University that had grown up in Paris, which strangely, like Bologna, owed nothing to any founder or patron, but had come spontaneously into being. Professor Tout gives an interesting account of this in his work on the Empire and the Papacy, which I will take the liberty to quote :—

" The earliest universities were, like Paris, associations of teachers, or, like Bologna, of foreign students. They had no founders, and based their rights on no charters of king or pope, but grew up gradually as a natural outcome of the wide spread of intellectual pursuits that followed upon the twelfth-century Renascence. The accident of an abiding presence of a series of great teachers had made Paris the centre of theological and philosophical study north of the Alps, and had given the schools of Bologna

THE UNIVERSITY BUILDING.

Photo. by Ed. v. König.

a prestige that attracted to them students of the civil and canon laws from every country in Europe. It was inevitable that sooner or later the accidental and spasmodic character of the earlier schools should give way to systematic organization. The numerous teachers of arts and theology in Paris gradually became a definite college or guild of doctors and masters, with power to admit or exclude new members of their profession, and with an increasingly strong corporate spirit and tradition. Before the death of Louis VII. a university, that is to say a corporation of masters, had replaced the individual schools of the age of Abelard."

Karl IV., who was familiar with both Paris and Bologna, was stimulated to found the earliest German university, that of Prague, which was followed by the establishment of those of Vienna and Cologne. The Counts Palatine had never been behindhand in the encouragement of learning, and Ruprecht the Elder, whose strong personal friendship with Karl had associated him with all his schemes, followed suit by setting up one in Heidelberg on the model of Paris and Prague.

There were special reasons which made German universities desirable; it was the time of the great schism, and since France supported an anti-Pope in Avignon, it was most embarrassing that German youth, who had been brought up to recognize the Pope in Rome, should during the malleable years of education live under one, the validity of whose acts was denied in their own country. Ruprecht was before all things practical, and though a man of great ability, he was unlearned and often deplored his ignorance of Latin, which must have put him at a great disadvantage in a day when it was the universal language of the educated, and the tongue in which all public business was transacted. He saw a double advantage in the scheme; not only would it bring learning within reach of his subjects without obliging them to travel to foreign countries in search of it, but it would attract numbers both of learned professors and of those who sought teaching to settle in Heidelberg, to the

great advantage of the town both in reputation and in trade.

He matured his plans slowly ; no doubt they had been in his mind from the time of Karl's foundation in Prague, but forty years had gone by before they were ready, and in the interval he was not only able to profit by the experience of the working of the earlier university, but he obtained the inestimable advantage of the advice and help of Marsilius von Inghen, who came from Paris to be his first Rector. A Netherlander by birth, von Inghen had been for years connected with the universities of Paris and Cologne ; he took his M.A. degree in 1362 at the age of twenty-two, and became later Canon and Treasurer of St. Andrew's Church in Cologne. He seems to have had a close connexion with England, for in the years 1363, 1373, 1374, he was *Procurator Natio Anglicanae.* For some years he was Rector of the University of Paris, and in 1378 he was sent to represent it in Rome. He belonged to the school of the Nominalists, between whom and the Realists there was such protracted strife, and leaned to the scholastic philosophy of the Englishman Occam. What drove him from Paris can only be surmised ; it was the time of the anti-Pope in Avignon, and if he acknowledged the Roman Pontiff his position in Paris may have become untenable, and he would naturally turn to Germany, which was on the Roman side in the controversy.

It was fortunate for the Elector Palatine that he was able to avail himself of the practical experience as well as of the learning of such a man, and together they laid down the constitution of the Heidelberg University on the lines of that of Paris. It was to be divided into four " Nations," each choosing its own representatives, the Nations being subdivided into " Provinces," and these again into " Districts." These " Nations " are still distinguished from each other by the different-coloured caps worn by the students, though they have been reconstituted since then. While owning the overlordship of the Church in the person of the Diocesan, the Bishop of Worms, who was official visitor, it formed a self-governing

community within the town, electing its own Rector and subject to its own laws.

There were four teaching faculties which could bestow degrees, those of Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, and Philosophy or Arts. The degrees were Baccalaureate, Licentiate, Magister, Doctor. These Faculties were established by the issue of five Latin Diplomas, to which was added a sixth in the vernacular to be understanded of the people. In order that the infant university might be well provided with all needful nutriment, Ruprecht issued an edict, inviting booksellers, writers, parchment-makers, and binders to settle in the town, offering them the rights and freedom of the city and immunity from certain taxes. At first no special buildings were erected, but lectures were held in the great Chapter House of the Cistercian Monastery, and the students and professors lodged in the town where they would. The course of study was laid down with great precision, the books to be read and the method being exactly prescribed and following the customs of Paris and Bologna.

The style of living among the professors must have been very simple, for their salaries, even allowing for the great change in the value of money, were so small; plain living and high thinking must needs be the rule. The lecturers received the sum of from one to eight groschen from the students, and for the annual disputations three gulden. Fifty gulden a year was considered a high salary. When Diethmar von Swerthe travelled to Rome on university business he was allowed thirty gulden for his expenses for three months.

By the autumn of 1386 all was matured and ripe for the opening, and on St. Luke's Day High Mass was celebrated at the church of the Holy Ghost, and on the following day, at eight o'clock in the morning, work began with a lecture from Marsilius on Logic, and one from Reginald von Alva on the Epistle to Titus. Three weeks later arrived Diethmar von Swerthe from Prague to take charge of the Faculty of Arts, which was the most important of any, as every man had to take his degree in

that before he was eligible to proceed to the specialized Faculties. Soon the remaining Chairs of Medicine and Jurisprudence were filled, and students came flocking in from afar as well as from the town and neighbourhood, and rules for discipline had to be framed, as well as the fee for matriculation, which was at first fixed at twelve silver pennies or denarii. Within a few weeks other professors were added to the Philosophical and Theological Faculties, also to that of Jurisprudence; Johann de Noet came from Prague to lecture on Canon Law; Mathäus Clementis, a Spaniard, on Civil Law; only Medicine was for a time in the hands of a single exponent.

Young blood was hot then as it is now, and it was not long before the narrow streets resounded with the "Town and Gown rows" which seem an inevitable feature of university life. The students were not amenable to town regulations, and it was very soon found necessary to establish a prison, the forerunner of the quaint Carcer which is still in use. On the ground-floor of the present university building a wretched cell is shown which is said to belong to the earliest prison; if so, it was probably situate within the Monastery precincts on the site of which the present buildings stand.

When Ruprecht II. succeeded he carried on the policy of fostering the university which had been so near his uncle's heart, but the method he took of bestowing on it a local habitation would hardly have commended itself to Ruprecht the Elder. Protected and encouraged in Heidelberg according to the immunities which King Ludwig had bestowed upon Ruprecht, the Jews had come to form quite a wealthy colony in the Heu Strasse, and naturally counted on the same protection being extended to them as heretofore; but Ruprecht, egged on either by the jealous hatred felt against them by the townsfolk or by a greedy desire to enrich the University at their expense, suddenly turned them out of their homes, which he promptly converted into residences for the professors. One of the principal Jews, named Butz, had a fine house and garden which was assigned to the six professors of

Arts, and eleven others were divided amongst the other Faculties; while the Synagogue was made into a Lady Chapel, and the books either sold or given to the university library. Gradually several groups of collegiate buildings came into existence for the behoof of the newly instituted Fellows. In 1390 Conrad von Gelnhausen bequeathed a thousand gulden for the erection of a college, and three years later, behind the Market well gate, where now is the Ketten Gasse, a new building was opened, containing lecture-halls, lodgings for masters and students, a room for the Senate, and a library. This college, Wilke says in his history of the library, stood till the burning of the town in 1693, and was described as a stately building of two storeys with two wings, two entrances, and a spacious courtyard, in the midst of which was a fountain. The Senate kept their archives here, and had their hall of meeting, and the Faculty of Arts their great lecture-hall. There were also rooms for several students and for the beadle. The library was on the ground floor in the east wing, and looked upon a garden which was assigned to the Faculty of Arts and known as the Philosophic Garden.

Soon after Gerlach von Homburg bequeathed his house to be converted into another college, and this formed the nucleus of what was known later as the Dionysium, in which provision was made for poor students. A fourth was built by the Elector Palatine at the foot of the Castle hill. This was a more ecclesiastical foundation, being intended for the training of young Cistercian monks, who, living together in one community, might observe the rule of their order and yet attend lectures and profit by the intellectual training the University offered. While affiliated to the Monastery, it shared in all the rights and immunities of the University.

Ruprecht II. also put the position and salaries of the professors on a more assured foundation than heretofore; he assigned to the University half the tithes from Schriesheim for the payment of the six professors of Arts, and arranged that a portion of the tolls of Bacharach and Kaiserswerth, which had lately been assigned, should be

sold to endow the Chairs of Theology, Jurisprudence, and Medicine.

After ten years' valuable work as Rector, Marsilius von Inghen died at a comparatively early age, and was buried in the church of St. Peter. There was an intimate connexion from the first between this church and the University, and Ruprecht the Emperor, who carried out what his father had begun, made over to it the rights of patronage over both this church and those of Altdorf and Lauda in the dioceses of Eichstadt and Wurzburg, as well as some important benefices in Worms, Spires, Neuhausen, Wimpffen, and Mosbach. He also formulated a scheme for elevating the status of the great church of the Holy Ghost, where the Electors were buried, to that of a collegiate chapter in connexion with the University, but this was still in embryo at the time of his death. In the year of his accession to the imperial dignity he bought and endowed another house for the needs of the rapidly growing University. There were now thirteen regularly appointed and salaried professors.

While the teaching staff was so well established, and material needs provided for, discipline left much to be desired. So great a concourse of young men and lads brought together from all parts, especially in those fighting days when swords were so quickly out of the scabbard, was not without its dangers, and in this reign a very serious tumult arose, this time not primarily with the town, but with the Junker, the young nobility who were about the Court or who, without being regularly matriculated, attended some of the lectures and came into collision with the students. Some rivalry or quarrel arising, these highborn lads allied themselves with the 'prentices and artisans, between whom and the students there was continual feud. How it began no one seemed precisely to know, but on 11 June, 1406, two students were waylaid in the Market Square and seriously wounded; others rushed to the rescue, and in a few moments a general riot was in full swing, which was with difficulty ended by the intervention of the Rector Johann von Frankfurt. Only

for that night, however; the next morning it broke out again with redoubled violence, the young noblemen joining in with the mob, and even the three young princes—Ludwig, Stephan, and Otto—being drawn into it. The house of the Rector was besieged, the alarm bell of the Holy Ghost church was rung by a pretended order of the Emperor, and the tumult surged up the Burgweg towards the Castle. So violent was it that people began to talk of another Sicilian Vespers. Barricades were set up in the streets, and for some time the attempt of Bishop Rhabanus of Spires to mediate was quite in vain. No one was killed, however, though many were wounded; with the night matters quieted down, and the next day the University closed its doors and appealed for protection to the government.

On the 14th the Emperor Ruprecht rode down into the town himself, accompanied by the princes, in order to hold an inquiry; this did not elicit much, probably because those really responsible were so high-placed that punishment had to alight on minor culprits; it issued, however, in very stringent orders to the town to respect the persons and liberties of the academicians, and it was probably owing to the strong measures of protection taken on their behalf that in the course of years they became so independent of the laws of citizenship that what would not be tolerated for a moment in an ordinary burgher is to this day allowed to a student without question. Other people have to silence their pianos by ten o'clock at night under police regulations; but the students may go howling about the streets till three or four o'clock in the morning. On this same occasion a solemn declaration was required from the princes that they would maintain the High School in all its rights and support it with liberties, honours, and gifts.

The Electoral Prince fulfilled his undertaking thoroughly when he succeeded his father, and in the first year of his reign called for a report, which was laid before him in the Electoral Chancery in the presence of his brothers, Stephan and Otto. From this it appears that there were

fourteen salaried professors—three for Theology, three for Canon Law, one in Medicine, three in Arts, and four others whose subjects are not specified; their salaries varied from fifty to a hundred and twenty florins. Ludwig also carried to completion his father's scheme for converting the church of the Holy Ghost into a University church with a Chapter.

In the warlike times of Friedrich the Victorious matters were not allowed to stagnate. Amongst all the important affairs he had to occupy him he found time and energy to devise a reformation of the University whereby it might be hindered from hardening into a close corporation, and encouraged to open its doors to younger men and newer ideas. The salaried professors were to remain as they were until their death, but as new appointments were made, fresh arrangements were brought in; a certain fixed salary was to be attached to each Chair, and unsalaried lecturers were to be paid out of other resources. Instead of strangers being discouraged, all doors were to be thrown open to them, that new blood might be infused into the teaching body and that a wholesome rivalry might work: and a regulation was framed in the Arts Faculty that any master might read and teach, any scholar might learn and hear whatsoever he would, so long as it was not forbidden by the Church.

In the details of discipline Friedrich made certain new regulations: holidays were to be curtailed, leave of absence during term not to be so readily granted, and the number of Disputations was to be increased. Under his influence the University itself issued a body of rules touching the conduct of the students. They were forbidden to be abroad after curfew armed, masked, or without a lantern; they were not to be in the street or market-place after ten, and not to interfere with the night watchman in the discharge of his duties. Robbing gardens or orchards or hunting without a licence were forbidden under penalties; also they were not to write or disseminate squibs and pasquinades, to disturb the public peace, or betray the military strength of the castle. They

were not to visit houses of ill fame nor take part in torch-light processions. A few years later sumptuary laws were issued to check extravagance in dress. In Friedrich's reign a riot broke out on the subject of red caps, which had to be quelled by the Elector himself, who ordained that only the Faculty of Arts might wear scarlet, the jurists must wear black caps. In each college a system of prefects (*regentes*) was established, not unlike that of an English Public School; the regent being held responsible for order in his college.

Friedrich made room for the growing needs of the University by transplanting a whole street of artisans into the suburb of Bergheim, which was by him included in the town and became known as the Vorstadt. These people were indemnified by having their taxes remitted for a year, and on the site of their houses fresh University buildings rose. Much was done by him, and especially by his successor Philip the Upright, for the Library; but this renowned institution, the Bibliotheca Palatina, must be left for another chapter.

In the time of Ludwig V. riots about something more serious than the robbing of orchards or wearing of red caps took place, for the growing Protestantism of the town began to come into collision with the stiff Catholicism which still characterized the University. He had a report laid before him the very year of Luther's Disputation, 1518, which was most unsatisfactory as to numbers matriculated, observance of old statutes, neglect of Disputations, making of unauthorized regulations, mismanagement of finances, and brought to light a great deal of embittered party feeling. The Elector reprimanded the Chancellor, and said that unless matters were speedily reformed he must himself take strong measures. The Faculty of Arts maintained that the reason of the falling off in matriculations was the lack of Humanistic studies; the "Scholastike Kram" left the younger generation cold. (Was this, one wonders, the origin of our English word "cram"?) They suggested to the Elector to invite the already famous Erasmus of Rotterdam to take a Chair,

and in 1521 he sent him an invitation to do so, which, however, Erasmus declined, and also appointed the hardly less celebrated Œcolampadius from Wittenberg to be one of the professors of Theology. It is an interesting speculation how the course of the Reformation in Heidelberg might have been modified had it been carried out under the influence of Erasmus rather than under that of Melancthon.

Though Ludwig V. made several appointments that might be called liberal, he did not neglect the claims of such good Catholics as Grynæus, who occupied the Chair of Greek, empty since Reuchlin's time, and Sebastian Münster, who worthily filled that of Hebrew. The latter was also an eminent Geographer and Mathematician, and his drawings, especially of the Castle and neighbourhood, have made his name better remembered than all his great learning. The salaries of these men were very low, and the health of Grynæus quite broke down under the strain of having to fill two professorial Chairs.

Ludwig's reforms were many and drastic: the choice of a Rector, which used to take place half-yearly on the feasts of SS. John and Thomas, he made annual, and appointed that the accounts of the several Faculties should be given in regularly as well as those of the Building Committee, which was reconstituted with a certain number of sworn masons and carpenters, whose duty it was to go over all the buildings once a year, and furnish a report of all needful repairs.

The Council which he appointed to weigh the new doctrine and the old and report upon it, as well as the complete reorganization of the Teaching Staff which took place under Otto Heinrich, belong rather to the story of the Reformation.

II

THE BIBLIOTHECA PALATINA

THE middle of the fifteenth century brought the next great impetus to learning, when the first printed books saw the light. The Rhineland, which had borne its part in the former movement by the establishment of the two great Universities of Cologne and Heidelberg, was the birthplace of this transcendently important discovery; Mayence, always in close touch with the Palatinate, was the home of the earliest printing press, set up by Johann Gensfleisch zu Gutenberg: it was hailed by his contemporaries as few new inventions have been. A Carthusian monk, Werner Rolewinck, in his *Fasciculus Temporum*, thus spoke of it:—

"The art of printing books, discovered in Mayence, is the Art of Arts, the Knowledge of Knowledges; through its rapid spread the world is enriched and enlightened by a splendid and hitherto hidden treasure of knowledge and wisdom. An endless number of books, till now known only to a few students in Athens or Paris or the universities and libraries, will now be spread abroad in every tongue amongst all nations, people, and races." As Janssen poetically puts it, "it gave wings to the mind."

At the taking of Mayence in 1462 by Archbishop Adolf of Nassau, Gutenberg fled, and "the wonderful secret" was carried off first to Strasburg, then to various towns in Germany, Holland, Italy, and across the sea to England. In London a printing press was set up by William Caxton, who had learned the art in Strasburg, in 1477, and Oxford followed suit the next year. By the year 1500 the names of over a thousand printing presses, mostly in Germany,

are known to fame, and German printers carried the knowledge of their craft to all parts of the civilized world, and it was quickly taken up and received added glory from such men as Aldus in Venice, Plantin in Antwerp, and Caxton in London. Meanwhile copperplate engraving, woodcutting, and printing of maps were being added to its resources.

In glorifying this wonderful means by which books might be spread and cheapened we must not lose sight of the great and praiseworthy industry which had hitherto carried Learning in its hands down all the centuries. The art of copying books by hand and enriching them with the most exquisite miniature painting had been carried to high perfection; not a monastery but had its scriptorium where skilful and painstaking monks wrought diligently to multiply copies, not alone of the Holy Scriptures and of the Fathers, but of innumerable secular works as well; and not a school nor institution of learning but had its library, and many scholars possessed most valuable private collections of MSS.

In this matter Ruprecht the Elder had cared for his infant university, as we have seen, by encouraging copyists, parchment-makers, bookbinders, and the like to settle in the town, and by gifts laying the foundation of what became the renowned Bibliotheca Palatina. In the first years of the foundation the Heidelberg University appears to have possessed two separate collections of books, which were continually being added to by purchases at the great yearly book fairs at Frankfort and at Leipsic. At these a very brisk trade went on, and MSS. were produced at a wonderfully rapid rate under the stimulus of the demand created by the universities, both to furnish their own libraries and for the private collections of scholars trained to the need of books. A very strict censorship was maintained by the universities in order to ensure correct copies; in Paris every bookseller had to get each copy licensed by the University Censor, and every trader had to swear obedience to this law on the Holy Gospels. Ruprecht I., who followed the con-

stitution of Paris very closely, adopted the same law in Heidelberg.

The first definite mention of an already formed library for the University occurs ten years after its founding, when a room in the new buildings was set apart for the library belonging to the Faculty of Arts.* This was the most important of the Faculties, being the gate to all the others, and being more richly endowed and representing Philosophy and Belles-Lettres, its purchases of books were much the largest. Its collection appears to have been a separate one, outside the general library of all the Faculties; and in the next century two separate collections of books are clearly to be traced, though unhappily records have been frequently lost or destroyed. The number of books was continually being added to by gift, purchase, or legacy; on the death of the first Chancellor, Conrad von Gelnhausen, the University purchased his library, and Marsilius von Inghen bequeathed all his books to it by will. Gifts are recorded during these first years from Magister Gerhard von Emelissa, Meister Colinus, Cantor of St. Paul's in Worms, who was nephew to von Gelnhausen, Bishop Matthäus of Worms, chiefly theological, and Meister Johann Müntzinger. In 1417 the Faculty of Jurisprudence profited by a gift of seventeen volumes on Civil Law from Johann de Noet, one of the earliest appointed professors, and other smaller presents. When in 1391 Ruprecht II. drove out the Jews in the interests of the University, an immense number of Hebrew and Latin scholastic works were acquired, either taken by force from individual Jews or found stored in the Synagogue. Several of these were sold and realized a large sum of money, but the professors prudently retained a copy of the Talmud, foreseeing that though no one studied it then, it might come to be studied in the future.

Until the building of the first college the books belonging to these two collections were kept in some cloister, probably in the Minorite or Cistercian Monasteries, where

* *Geschichte der Bibliotheca Palatina*, Prof. Wilke.

at first the lectures were delivered. A third collection was made by the newly formed Chapter of the church of the Holy Ghost in connexion with the University, and was for years kept in the church.

Two very important catalogues of the fifteenth century enumerate all these legacies and gifts, also purchases made from an unknown Meister Conrad. They show what books were possessed, but do not specify in what language they were written, though occasionally it is mentioned whether they were on parchment or on paper, or if they were imperfect copies. They were classified according to the Faculties—Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, or Arts. Among the first were a Great Bible, Sermons for Sundays by Beda, the works of Occam, Anselm, Hugo de St. Victor, St. Augustine, St. Gregory, St. John Damascene, St. Bernard, some Commentaries by unknown names, and a Treatise against a married priesthood by Magister Gerhard Groet.

There were many Juristic books on Canon and Civil Law; the latter especially was increasingly studied, for the Roman law had been introduced, and was becoming of great and growing importance in spite of the very strong feeling against it among the people and with the party of German nationality, for its tendency was to override and extinguish ancient German rights.* The Medical Faculty had five complete codices of books which had belonged to Marsilius von Inghen, comprising an old Galen and others on parchment.

The library of Arts contained the *Ethics* of Aristotle, the *Timæus* of Plato, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Letters* of Seneca, a *Life of Alexander the Great*, *The Fall of Troy* (probably by Dictys of Crete), *Hermes Trismegestus*, the *Paradoxa* of Cicero, works on Natural History and Mathematics, Boëthius' *De Consolatione*, and Seneca's *Four Cardinal Virtues*. Thirty-seven volumes on Natural History were presented by Conrad, Bishop of Worms. There were also many works on Logic and several exegetical books, the gift of the Elector Palatine. Among those

* Janssen's *Geschichte*.

given by Bishop Matthäus were the Commentaries of Nicholas de Lyra and those of St. Thomas Aquinas, and *The Golden Legend.*

These two catalogues refer to the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries, and no printed book is mentioned in them. Those belonging to the University Library were marked according to the part they were kept in, and those in the church of the Holy Ghost distinguished by a letter marking the shelf. The Theological books in the church were all kept on one wall, the remainder on the other two. The former at this time consisted of a hundred and ninety-seven volumes, the latter of two hundred and seven. In the Arts library the scholastic works were much the most numerous; it was considered the cradle of scholastic Theology and Philosophy, while the works of Cicero, Horace, and Virgil were somewhat neglected. There was, however, a curious mixture, for a book on the game of chess (*Ludi scacorum*) stood between *Quaedam Dicta*, by Wicliff, and St. Thomas Aquinas on the Revelation of St. John the Divine.

One of these catalogues was on parchment and one on paper, and both were added to by a later hand, for valuable additions were constantly being made, and cataloguing must have been a never-ending labour. Many writings of the Fathers—St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, St. Jerome—were added, and a History of Troy on parchment with illustrations, besides many others of which the records have been lost. Very early it became the custom for every writer to present a copy of his works to the library, as later became the rule in England for the Bodleian.

Very great must have been the stimulus to the acquisition of new books when they were multiplied by the printing press, though for long they must have been very expensive from the great cost of parchment and at first of the newly invented rag-paper. Works on Jurisprudence seem to have been published very early, so though the catalogues do not specify, it is probable that the very

complete collection possessed by that Faculty early in the sixteenth century was of printed books. The record of their division and arrangements, though very fascinating to the curious in such matters, is hardly of general interest. For some little time after the invention of printing MSS. were still sought; in 1456 the Arts library took some trouble to obtain a MS. of Quintilian on Rhetoric, Seneca's Tragedies, and the works of Virgil with a commentary.

The great mart for obtaining books was at the yearly fair at Frankfort-on-the-Main, and immense was the concourse of booksellers and bookbuyers, of printers, bookbinders, and booklovers from all parts of the world. In May, 1571, there is record of the sum voted at the request of Zanchius to be spent at the autumn fair. Forty gulden was proposed for the purchase of theological works; it was suggested that part should be spent on behalf of the other Faculties, but that was postponed for the following year. A few years later it was arranged, on the proposition of Agricola, that a like sum should be laid out on the needs of each Faculty in turn. During the sixteenth century books increased enormously in numbers and lessened in price, so that in 1596 the Faculty of Arts purchased a good store of books at the Frankfort fair for forty gulden, amongst which were several Aldine editions of philosophical works and a Greek Commentary on Aristotle. They also received as a gift from the printer Jakob Köbel, of Oppenheim, a copy of the *Calendarium Magnum Romanum*. Many of these gains were noted on the old catalogues.

The Electors from the first had been most liberal; many of their gifts were made to the second collection in the church, which was as much for the use of the University as that contained in its own buildings, and had as good a claim to be considered as the nucleus of the Bibliotheca Palatina as that in the Castle itself. This latter was begun by Ludwig called the Bearded, who quite late in life studied Latin at the instigation of the Emperor Siegmund, and had made a considerable collection of Latin authors. These he kept in his castle, though

the library was not yet built, and in 1424 he decreed that they were to be presented to the Library in the church; his intention, however, was not carried out till after his death. Amongst them were the Fathers, the Scholastics, a Dictionary on parchment in eight volumes, the works of Albertus Magnus, and some writings of Arabian physicians. They were all very beautifully bound and filled five shelves, with from thirteen to thirty-two volumes on each. Wilke thinks there were old German MSS. in his collection, but if so they were still retained in the Castle, as there is no mention of any in the catalogue of his gifts. It seems more probable that these (many of which were brought back from Rome) were the property of his grandson, Philip the Upright, who had a very great taste for old German poetry, and designed the beautiful oriel-windowed library in the Castle for the reception of his treasures, though the carrying out of it was left to his son Ludwig V. Among them were the story of *der Arme Heinrich* and of Friedrich Barbarossa, the *Nibelungenlied* and the legends of Lohengrin and of Lancelot, the *Rose Garden*, the works of the Minnesingers, Walter von der Vogelweide and Wolfram von Eschenbach, the poems of Hans Sachs and others of the Master-singers of Nuremberg, and a fragment of the Legend of St. George. Philip had also a great many books bought for him in Italy by his chancellor Rudolf Agricola, who travelled to Rome on purpose to meet with the many learned Greeks who had settled there, having fled from Constantinople.

From his time on additions were frequent; the valuable collection of Bishop Johann von Dalberg of Worms came to the Library on his death, and many books and MSS. were brought from the old Monastery of Lorsch on its suppression. Philip's son, Ludwig V., made many additions, especially of medical books. So also did the latter's brother Friedrich, who was a man of considerable culture, and on his frequent visits to the refined Courts of France and Spain was much in the way of picking up the best that those palmy Renaissance days had to offer. The German Court too, under the influence of Max, who was

a genuine lover of books, was quite a centre of learning and of taste.

The short reign of Otto Heinrich was rich in acquisitions for the Library, for he was not only " a warm friend of Art and Learning," but also a traveller. In his youth he had made a pilgrimage to the East, and brought back treasures of Arabian, Greek, and Oriental MSS.; he also obtained for a thousand thalers the Geographical Tables of the Sultan Abulfeda, the first example of this work brought to Europe, and also many curious Syrian and Hebrew MSS. His own diary of his travels, written while he was in the East, was among the most valued treasures of the Library. A wanderer himself, he appreciated the journeyings of others, and added the Travels of Marco Polo to his collection. He sent emissaries into Italy to collect books, and confiscated the treasures of the suppressed monasteries on behalf of the Library. He bought all Luther's works and introduced other Reformation writings, added to the medical library, and gave some volumes on Astrology, to which he had a leaning. He, like the founder, did much to encourage booksellers to settle in Heidelberg, printers and bookbinders too, and had his own binder, Georg Bernhard von Görlitz, who bound all his books very artistically.

The next three Electors all cared for the Library and added to it, though their tastes lay rather in the line of Theology. It became the custom that all books left on the death of an Elector passed to it, even Prayer-books and Cookery-books. The most celebrated treasure, the Manessa-Codex, was bought by Friedrich IV. from Hans Philip von Hohensachs. It is a collection of a hundred and forty songs of the Minnesingers made early in the fourteenth century, magnificently bound and most exquisitely illustrated by a hundred and thirty-eight contemporary drawings, the painting looking as brilliant to-day as when the colours were first laid on.

In 1584 Baron Ulrich Fugger, one of the famous family of bankers, bequeathed over a thousand volumes to the Library. He had a passion for books, and had removed

to Heidelberg from his home in Augsburg in order to escape from the persecutions of his relations, who feared he would waste all his substance in his enormous expenditure on his hobby. People who possessed treasures of books were very apt to leave or make them over to the Library to save them from becoming dispersed by unappreciative heirs, so that besides the four great collections several smaller ones became affiliated to it.

When the Augustinian Monastery, standing where the present University is built, was suppressed it was made over to the University and formed into the Sapienzcollegium (College of Wisdom); it had its own library, which was kept apart, but formed a portion of the Bibliotheca Palatina.

The Library was known and valued throughout the learned world. Every facility was given to strangers who wished to study, and to copyists, and scarce texts were freely put at the disposal of scholars who wished to revise and collate by the celebrated Heidelberg texts. Expressions of gratitude are frequently met with in the writings of learned men. Scaliger praised the hospitality with which the Library received him, but he blamed the authorities for not making sufficient use of their own treasures. Among the records of foreign students are many interesting names; there was the young and eager Claude Salmasius, who extorted leave with difficulty from his Catholic parents to study at the Calvinistic Heidelberg, and justified their apprehensions by becoming a writer on the side of the Reformed doctrines; there was James Gruterus, who became the last Liberarius before the carrying off of the books to Rome. He it was who discovered the beautiful Greek Anthology and many other little-known treasures. About the same time an Englishman, John Greaves, was copying some of the Arabian MSS. in which the Library was so rich; and a Dutchman, Erpenius by name, was at work on the Geography of Abulfeda and the Chronicle of Elmasin. He did not live to finish the Latin translation he was making, and it was published after his death by Jakob Golius, who at his request praised the

generosity of the Heidelberg Library. The same liberal spirit towards those who wish to study there is displayed to-day by the present Chief Librarian, the Herr Professor Doctor Jakob Wille, who follows in the steps of his predecessor, Herr Doctor Zangmeister, and places his intimate knowledge of the wealth of the Library at the service of inquirers.

Very careful measures were taken, and were of course necessary, for the security of the books, entrusted to the hands of so many strangers. An official Librarian was appointed, in whose custody were the keys, and though every magister had the right of free entry, he had to take an oath not to admit any untrustworthy person, to remain with any stranger until the arrival of another sworn magister, and to entrust no one with the keys without the consent of the Dean. Every one taking out a book must not only give a written receipt, but leave another book of equal value as a pledge, and no book was to be kept longer than two months. The Faculty of Arts saw to the keeping in due order of rooms, shelves, tables, etc., to the continuation of the Catalogue, which required perpetually to be brought up to date, and to the getting back of books in due time. Those books which were not allowed to go out were chained to long desks, the chains being locked, as in the Medici Library in Florence, or the little old Minster Library in Wimborne. So also in the church of the Holy Ghost. When towards the end of the fifteenth century Ludolph Helm Lambert was appointed Liberarius, he stipulated that he should be the sole holder of the keys, and no one be permitted to take out books except the Elector and his eldest son; they were even refused to the other royal princes unless by a special permit, and then they were only allowed to keep them one month. In later times the Librarian had not the duty of cataloguing, but a special official was appointed: under Ludwig VI. Meister Conrad Lauterbach was preparing a complete catalogue, and in the time of Friedrich IV. one Friedrich Sylbach was employed to catalogue the Greek MSS. after the Fugger bequest.

After all the care bestowed, the slow, patient accumulations of three centuries were carried off in three days. In the siege of Heidelberg by Tilly in the Thirty Years War everything fell into the hands of the imperial troops, and it was in truth a mercy that the books were carried off rather than dispersed or absolutely annihilated, as they might have been. For the soldiers had a particular spite against the Calvinist city, and had not Tilly placed a strong guard everything would have been burnt. Palatinate historians will hardly even allow him the merit of a respect for the books, but suggest that the guard was for the protection of important Electoral papers ; but be the motive what it may, he took possession of the Library. The Jesuit Fathers at Cologne offered to treat for the purchase, but the Pope had long had a covetous eye upon the treasures, and with incredible speed the whole were packed and transported on a train of two hundred mules across the Alps to Italy. All three Libraries—that in the church, that in the University, and the Palatinate collection—were carried off by Leo Allatius, the Pope's Legate, as is proved by the codices of the Greek and Latin MSS. made after the removal. Some few were saved by being hidden by borrowers, but Gruterus, the Librarian, was not even suffered to take his private papers without an oath that there were no MSS. among them. The Bibliotheca Palatina now became an important section of the Vatican Library, and was for a century and a half amongst the treasures displayed to curious visitors. It was kept in a separate room going out of the chief hall, which was richly decorated by Pope Urban VIII.

After the Peace of Westphalia Karl Ludwig endeavoured to obtain the restoration of the treasure, but in vain ; happily so perhaps, or it would hardly have escaped the more terrible tragedy of the Orleans War. At length, in the reorganization of Europe in the Congress of Vienna, 1814, it was given back to Heidelberg, and though much had been lost, much of great value has since been added by the labours of German explorers in Egypt and the East, and it remains among Heidelberg's most valued attractions.

III

THE HUMANISTS

THE third effective factor in the great revival of learning, loosely known as the Renaissance, was undoubtedly the impetus given to classical studies by the migration of Greek scholars to the West, and still more by the MSS. they brought with them, treasures which in many cases had remained for centuries locked up in the seclusion of Greek monasteries. Long before the fall of Constantinople the current had been setting westward as the Turks encroached more and more. Rome, the Italian universities, and such courts as those of the Dukes of Ferrara and Florence, were naturally the earliest affected, but Heidelberg was fully in the movement as soon as it reached Germany. Before the middle of the fifteenth century the highly cultured Æneas Sylvius, later Pope Pius II., who was for a time Provost of Worms, was made Chancellor of the University of Heidelberg, and brought his influence to bear on the schools of Philosophy, supporting the Realists against the Nominalists and hide-bound Scholastics, and aiding Friedrich I. materially in his schemes of reform. Under his auspices Peter Luder, one of the earliest Humanist lecturers, was appointed to a Chair in Heidelberg, and among Luder's disciples was Mathias Kemnat, the tutor and biographer of Friedrich. This Luder was not among the most favourable examples of Humanism, being a scoffer and of immoral character, but a man of considerable brilliance.

Under Friedrich's nephew Philip came the blossoming time for Humanism in Heidelberg. Strangely enough it was not the universities which were the first to welcome

the New Learning, but rather the Emperors and the Princes. Learned corporations always have a tendency to stereotype traditions and look askance on new methods, and it was in Philip's Court rather than in the lecture-halls that wandering students and learned strangers from Italy found their first welcome. Both Emperors and Counts Palatine were accustomed to travel into Italy, and there imbibed the enthusiasm for antiquity, the breath of quickened life, that was inspiring Rome, Florence, and Ferrara.

The love of learning with which Karl IV. was imbued seemed to have descended with the Imperial crown; Siegmund, himself no mean classical scholar, had induced the Elector Ludwig to study Latin and make that collection of classical authors which became the nucleus of the Bibliotheca Palatina. His successor, Friedrich III., had a good many of the Italian tastes characteristic of the days of the Renaissance, but his was a frivolous mind; he was too much taken up with his gardens, into which he delighted to introduce new varieties, with his dogs and monkeys and pets of all sorts, with his alchemy and astrology, which he preferred to the solid discoveries of chemistry and astronomy, to give very effectual encouragement to sound learning. He was, however, something of a poet himself, and a patron of poetry; a curious print by Dürer represents him placing a laurel crown on the head of his Poet Laureate, Conrad Celtes. He was extremely fond of plays, masques, and gorgeous functions, like our own James I., and not in that alone but in a certain dry humour and love of quaint jokes that characterised him. But Maximilian it was who, coming to the throne the very year in which Grocyn introduced the study of Greek into Oxford, is most closely connected with the Renaissance movement. He encouraged scholarship in every way, and under him all the arts for which his favourite city of Nuremberg was so famous blossomed wonderfully; but he was more than a patron of learning, but himself a writer of books—a *History of the War with Turkey*, *Teuerdank*, and *Weisskünig*, the latter a kind of

autobiography. These were all written in the vernacular, as he was particularly anxious to induce writers to make use of the German tongue instead of as heretofore writing always in Latin. In his day Nuremberg became quite a centre of intellectual influence, and the neighbouring Heidelberg, under the enlightened rule of Philip the Upright, rivalled it in learning if not in art.

Philip was one of the most refined and intellectual princes of that day when learning found its home in the courts of princes. His collection of books, both of the classics and of the old German poetry which he loved, has already been mentioned, and he was supported in all his efforts for the promotion of learning by the society which he gathered round him of men of light and leading. Amongst these the most brilliant was Johann Dalberg, Bishop of Worms; born in the middle of the fifteenth century, his life coincided with the golden age of the Renaissance. He was educated at Erfurt, where he took his B.A. degree, and subsequently studied at Heidelberg, finishing his education by a journey to Italy and a residence at the brilliant and cultured Court of the Duke of Ferrara, "the cradle of noble minds," as it was called. Here he met and formed a close friendship with two men who were destined to have an immense influence on learning in Heidelberg, Rudolf Agricola, and Dietrich von Plenningen, and when he returned to Germany and was made Chancellor of the University of Heidelberg he induced them to accompany him. For some time Agricola lived in his house and was able to devote himself to his favourite studies in a way he could hardly have done had he been appointed to a professorship in the University; for he was a man who must work in his own way; shackles of any sort were intolerable to him. Like Petrarch, whom he resembled in his work as in his ideals, he was ever a wanderer, and detested public or official life. He loved Italy, yet Germany drew him home; it was said of him he might have been one of the first men in Italy had he not preferred his own country. Another German, Reuchlin, who came to Heidelberg later, called forth the

remark from John Argyropoulos, before whom he read and construed a passage from Thucydides, "Behold Greece has flown over the Alps!"

Agricola, like many other learned men of that time, had been in his youth a scholar under the saintly Thomas à Kempis, at Zwoll. With all his profound learning, he delighted in art and music. He loved teaching, and used to give lessons in Hebrew to gifted youths who could profit by them. He was a man of pure and saintly life, a Brother of the Third Order of St. Francis, in which habit he was buried. His early death robbed Heidelberg of a very valuable element; indeed, it was by his influence on other minds that he left the deepest mark on his times; he set little store by his own writings, and left but few, though his letters show him to have been possessed of a style formed on the best classical models. Dalberg owed very much to his friend, and it was very likely in pursuance of that friend's wish that he endowed the first Chair of Greek in Heidelberg. When Dalberg was consecrated to the See of Worms he by no means lost his interest in the Humanities, but was as zealous as ever in helping Philip transplant Italian culture into his dominions; he was frequently in Heidelberg, dividing his time between the Court, his episcopal residence at Worms, and his house at Ladenburg.

After Agricola Conrad Celtes came to the front; he had matriculated at Heidelberg in 1584, having already studied at Erfurt and Schlettstadt. Here his brilliant gifts attracted the notice of the learned Chancellor, and though he left Heidelberg for a time to take up a lectureship at Leipsic, Dalberg did not lose sight of him. Cabals of the Scholastics against the Humanists shortly drove him from Leipsic, and for a time he lectured at Rostock, but his love of travel and that kind of home-sickness for Italy which Humanists of every nation seem to have felt, drew him away. After some lingering about the various Italian Courts, he undertook a professorship in Ingolstadt; but ever his love of travel drove him forth, and presently he reappeared meteor-like in Heidelberg once more,

where he joined with the Elector, Dalberg, Plenningen, Trithemius, and Wimpheling in setting up the famous Rhenish Literary Society, the parent of one he established later in Ingolstadt and called the Danube Society. In vain the Elector appointed him tutor in Greek and Latin to his sons; no appointment, however distinguished, could tie down that restless spirit to one spot; travelling and working to the last, he died in 1508 at a comparatively early age. Unlike Agricola and Plenningen, Celtes was not only a scholar, but a man of the world who wanted to live his life to the utmost; German though he was by birth, he is far more a product of the Italian than of the German Renaissance. His influence was unbounded; as protégé of two emperors, Librarian of the Imperial University, crowned Poet Laureate in Vienna, founder of many learned societies, he perhaps did more for the spread of learning than many a deeper student whose life was bounded by the four walls of his study. His gift to Heidelberg of the Rhenish Society proved a precious heritage.

For this society not only bound together the Elector Palatine and his little band of Humanists for mutual support, but it united them with learned men in all the neighbouring towns; it had its branches in Nuremberg, Strasburg, Regensburg, Augsburg, Freiburg, who all sent representatives to the Court of Philip; moreover, the Danubian Society, which had its headquarters in Vienna, was in some sort daughter to it, and in correspondence with it. It also did much to foster the study of History, especially that of the Fatherland, to which Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, one of the earliest members of the Society, particularly devoted himself. His Annals are a storehouse of valuable information, though modern historians, bringing their critical spirit to bear, frequently set him down as inaccurate or unreliable. They draw upon him, however, to a considerable extent. Neither was Geography neglected, though it is curious to read that the Geography published by Aventinus about this time was based on

that of Ptolemy, and severely ignored the newly discovered continent of America.

The Society aimed at uniting scholars in all branches of learning: Theology, Jurisprudence, Medicine, Philosophy, Mathematics, Languages, History, Natural Science, and Poetry, all had their representatives. The members aided one another in researches, imparted their writings to each other, gladly submitting to criticism, and endeavoured to spread new knowledge in ever-widening circles. Aldus Manutius, the famous printer and bookseller, founded a society in Venice on similar lines, which should be a point of contact between German and Italian culture. These societies were ever ready to welcome visitors from abroad who brought fresh discoveries or newly found MSS., for nothing was more characteristic of the scholarship of that day than its wandering students; from the Brotherhood of Common Life, who travelled into all parts of the world teaching school, to brilliant pioneers of learning like Celtes or Reuchlin, scholars seemed ever on the move; not the study, scarcely the lecture-hall, far more the open road, was setting of their life.

The centre of the whole circle was Bishop Dalberg, himself so modest, writing little beyond letters which were models of classical elegance, and thinking nothing of his own achievements, but gathering around him both men and books; men who should stimulate each other to ever higher attainment, and books liberally placed at their disposal. His two libraries were ever open to students, and his precious collection at Ladenburg was bequeathed to the Palatinate Library, which under Philip was growing to fair proportions. His house, known in his days as the Wormser Hof, was situated in the Vorstadt, just off the main street, then called the Speyerische Strasse, and stretched across what is now the Theatre street; part of the courtyard and a staircase tower still remain. Later it was called the Englische Hof, as some Stuart relations of Elizabeth stayed there in Karl Ludwig's time, and at one time his divorced wife, Charlotte, took up her abode there. In the good Bishop's day it was a centre of hospi-

tality, reminding the reader of Clarendon's description of Great Tew and the circle that used to meet there; indeed, the character of the host in its modesty and charm was not unlike that of Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland.

"In the house of Dalberg all was life and spirit, and friends went in and out as they would. There they united in confidential talk round the hospitable board as well as in serious study, in both of which, according to Wimpheling's report, the Elector Philip from time to time bore a personal share. There Wimpheling discussed with his comrades his preparations for a German History, Plenningen read aloud his translations from Latin authors, and Reuchlin made his friends acquainted with Homer in his German rendering. It was in Dalberg's house that the first performance of a Latin Play, arranged by Reuchlin, took place." *

This comedy, in imitation of Terence, was intended as a satire on certain monks whose prejudices had driven Reuchlin out of Swabia; in deference to the Elector and the clergy attached to his Court, also one would think to the Bishop's Palace in which it was performed, it was somewhat toned down before production. It was given by some of the students, who were handsomely rewarded by the liberal Bishop. After this experiment the performance of Latin plays became customary in this and other universities.

Reuchlin stands first and foremost among the scholars who adorned Heidelberg at that day; indeed, he was esteemed the first scholar in Europe. Deeply learned in Latin, he established a new school of Jurisprudence, and did much to introduce the Justinian Code into Germany. One writer says he was the first to set up a Chair of Greek in the University, but this honour has been claimed for Dalberg; possibly the latter did so under Reuchlin's influence, for his translations of Greek poetry had a wide celebrity. One of his most memorable services to learning was the introduction of the study of Hebrew, till his time almost ignored; he published a Hebrew grammar and dictionary,

* Janssen, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volks.*

and first set on foot that study of the Old Testament in the original, in which Germany has since gone so far. He had a curiously mystical bent, and under the influence of Pico della Mirandola he studied the Cabbalah, of which Pico had said, "no learning makes us more certain of the Divinity of Christ than the Cabbalah and natural magic." With Reuchlin it formed the groundwork of a half supernatural, half realistic Theosophy. He intended no heresy, but his views were such as might easily lend themselves to it, and they were stigmatized as dangerous. The Dominican, Jakob Hochstraten, who had been appointed Inquisitor for the dioceses of Cologne, Trêves, and Mayence, attacked him, and his book, *Augenspiegel*, was proscribed. He appealed to the Pope, Leo X., who referred the matter to the Bishop of Speyer, the Count Palatine Georg; he handed it on to the Dean, Georg Truchsess, who, himself a pupil of Reuchlin, declared it free from all offence. The elder Humanists, Wimpheling and Sebastian Brandt, were disapproving, but the younger men, who were called the Poets, and amongst whom Ulrich von Hutten was prominent, espoused Reuchlin's cause vehemently and gave him a regular ovation on the occasion. A very curious print was published to celebrate his triumph over his detractors, representing him riding on a triumphal car while apes and unclean beasts grovel before him.

Less famous but worthy names are those of Wimpheling, who was devoted to the cause of education, and wrote several books on the subject; of Wessel, from Paris, a great student of Theology on the newer lines; of Conrad Peutinger, from Augsburg, a writer on the history of the Middle Ages, and founder of a museum in his native city, where he preserved a large and valuable collection he had made of coins, antiquities, and Roman remains. He was much patronized by the Emperor Max. Amongst the Nuremberg members was Wilibald Pirkheimer, bred an armourer, who had travelled much in Italy, bringing back a cultivated taste for art and learning, and became Town Councillor of Nuremberg.

Nor were women left out of this great movement; among the members of the Rhenish Society was Roswitha, a poetess whose epigrams and lyrics were edited by the learned Celtes. She is mentioned also in a literary history by Johannes Butzbach, written in the year 1505, but unpublished. In this are enumerated several ladies of distinction, chiefly in convents: Gertrude of Coblentz, Mistress of the Novices at Vallendar, equally distinguished for her learning, especially in the Holy Scriptures, and for her piety. Two other women writers were Christine von der Leyen and Barbara von Dalberg; the latter was niece to the Bishop, and was a Benedictine nun at Marienberg, near Boppard. The writer compares her to Roswitha, to Hildegard, and to Elizabeth von Schönau. Aleydis, another learned nun, wrote seven Latin homilies on St. Paul, and translated a German work on the Holy Mass into Latin, while in the same convent Gertrude von Buchel studied art. The Abbess of Seebach, Richmondis von der Horst, corresponded in Latin with Trithemius, and was celebrated as the authoress of several Latin works. Besides these cloistered women were many in the world who were known as patrons of learning: Margarethe von Staffel, wife of Adam von Allendorf, Governor of the Rheingau, was distinguished for her culture; as was also Duchess Hedwig of Swabia, who read the classics in the original with her private chaplain, and also wrote Latin verses, prose essays, and German poetry, besides a Life of St. Bernard. Another, very learned in history, was Catherine von Ostheim, authoress of an epitome of the *Limburg Chronicle*.

Better known than any of these, through her correspondence with Celtes and Albrecht Dürer, was the sister of Wilibald Pirkheimer, Charitas, Abbess of the Poor Clares; she could both speak and write Latin, and her letters to both those celebrated men, as well as to her brother, were in Latin. Her sister Clara in the same convent, and her close friend, Apollonia Tucher, niece of Sixtus Tucher, Provost of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, were scarcely less distinguished. This convent, thus adorned

OTTO HEINRICH: ELECTOR PALATINE.

From a portrait by Bartel Beham in the Castle Museum.

Photo. by Ed. v. König.

at the close of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, is a standing refutation of the charges of ignorance and idleness, not to say worse, brought wholesale against the convents of Germany. Augsburg, too, had its learned Prioress, Veronica Welfer, painted by Holbein, whose sister Margaretha married Conrad Peutinger and was his true helpmeet in humanist studies and in his researches into antiquity.

Nor must we omit to mention royal ladies; Mechtild, daughter of Ludwig III. and sister of Friedrich the Victorious, was as great a lover of German poetry as her father. She made a collection of ninety-four works of old Court poetry; she also loved the folk-songs and had new verses made to the old melodies. It was under her influence that her second husband, Archduke Albrecht of Austria, established a University at Freiburg in Breisgau, and her son by her first marriage, Count Eberhard of Wurtemburg, founded the University of Tübingen at her instigation.

The great Erasmus was not without influence on the Humanism of Heidelberg, yet his place seems rather with the reformers; for with the opening years of the sixteenth century Renaissance was giving place to Reformation; the religious question was the burning one, the classical was falling into the background as among things already accomplished. Still the three Electors Palatine of the first half of the century belong more to the Renaissance than to the Reformation; Ludwig V. and Friedrich II. cared more for the new learning than for a new religion; they added to their library, they built their palaces and adorned them with treasures of art, and led the rich and many-coloured life of the earlier Renaissance. Otto Heinrich in his three brief years of rule formed the meeting-point of the two currents. The first to introduce definite Protestantism into his dominions, he is yet better remembered as the builder of the most beautiful portion of the Castle, the first to adorn the exterior with statues and rich ornament; as the traveller, the writer of his own wanderings; as the giver of some of its most precious treasures to the Bibliotheca Palatina.

IV

ART AND LIFE

NOT Literature alone, but all the arts which adorn human life had made great strides from the dawn of settled and civilized life to the eve of the Reformation. In all this the Palatinate fully shared; from its central position, its importance in the Empire, from its close connection with the great trading cities on the Rhine, from its good fortune in having such eminently cultivated rulers, from its possession of a magnificent castle which afforded a fitting home for art treasures, from the frequent visits of emperors and their suites, in beauty and brilliance it must have been able to vie with any of the minor courts of Europe. But, alas! Heidelberg itself suffered so severely in two disastrous wars that it possesses but scant traces of all its former glories. Except in the fine old Ritter House in the Market Place opposite the church, now made into an hotel, there is hardly a specimen of domestic architecture earlier than the eighteenth century left standing in the town; its pictures were destroyed or scattered, its statues mutilated, and whatever interesting relics remained to it have been for the most part carried off to Mannheim, whither the Court removed in the time of Karl Philip.

Neighbouring cities may, however, afford some idea of what Heidelberg must have looked like; Würzburg, Rothenburg, Ratisbon remain, at no great distance; Nuremberg, always in close touch with the Palatinate, still retains much of its fast-vanishing beauty to show what Heidelberg may have been in the days of its glory. Many old prints, too, by Merian and Sebastian Münster, give some idea of its architecture. By a small effort of

imagination we may reconstruct the Market Place with the great church in the midst, round which the booths or little wooden shops clustered as they do to this day, being built in between the projecting buttresses. Facing the church stands the Ritter House, its lovely façade in the style of the Otto Heinrich Bau, and probably built at the same date or thereabout by a Huguenot refugee named Belier, whose portrait, with that of his wife and his wife's parrot, adorn the front. This was spared by the French when all the town was burnt in the Orleans War. We may suppose that similar houses stood round the square; remains of ancient work are to be discovered in the interior of several, but nearly all have been rebuilt at some recent date. An old print published in Holland in 1620 shows a row of beautiful old gabled houses on the south side. At the north-east corner stood the Council House, built by Friedrich the Victorious. This was entirely destroyed and rebuilt in 1703. The corner house opposite was the old Hirsch where Götz von Berlichingen stayed, made memorable by Goethe's drama. Next the Rath-Haus, where the new portion is, was the Deanery given by Ludwig III. In the midst was a fountain with a wooden triller to carry the water, under the shade of a spreading lime-tree; it was surmounted by a statue of Hercules, which was destroyed; the present copy of the Farnese Hercules is more modern.

Along the chief street, now the Haupt Strasse, earlier the Speyerische Strasse, were many fine old houses of which little but the tradition or here and there an old cellar remains, but which are marked in ancient maps, in which Heidelberg is peculiarly rich. Where now is the Rheinische Bank was the old Schomberg house, interesting in the days of Friedrich V. To the west the street ended with the Speirer Gate, now entirely demolished: it had a big square tower with a steep pointed roof and four small turrets at the four corners. In this were four storeys used as prisons; a lower tower guarded the other side of the gate. The walls were met by those of Friedrich I., with his two Defiance towers fortifying the Geisberg

to the west; and along the shore of the Neckar were strong walls with towers which must have cut off all view of the river from the town.

Janssen, whose history is a mine of learning and research, gives a marvellous picture of the progress of the fine arts in Germany, especially between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries. The earliest of the arts to attain a ripe perfection was that of building, and no country possesses finer examples, whether of cathedrals, castles, or private dwellings in towns, than Germany. German masons were employed on the cathedrals of Milan, Florence, Siena, and many others, and the Italian architect, Paul Jovius, declared that the "sleepy Italians" must look to Germany for craftsmen. Palladio, the great master of Renaissance building, said that the German work was by far the most important in Italy. England, too, looked for German aid; masons from the Rhineland were employed on the cathedrals of Winchester, Ely, Salisbury, Lincoln, Worcester, Gloucester, Exeter, Bristol, and York; in Spain and Portugal they were equally busy, and the exquisite façade of Burgos was the work of a Cologne master.

In their own country the magnificent cathedrals of Mayence and Strasburg, the less important but very fine ones of Worms and Spires, the lovely churches of Nuremberg, St. Sebaldus, St. Lorenz and the Frauenkirche, showed what they could do. Heidelberg, in the diocese of Worms, had no cathedral of its own, and its two ancient churches were not of any great beauty; for the lovely spire of St. Peter's is of recent date, and the exterior, though a fair specimen of Gothic, cannot compare with the churches of Nuremberg; but its castle was growing in splendour century by century, and if we may judge of its town houses by the Ritter House, its streets and squares must have presented as noble an appearance as that of any mediæval town in Germany. Nor must we forget the architecture of the great abbeys and priories that abounded; some, like the Michael's Basilika on the Heiligenberg or the great cloister of Lorsch, lying in ruins, hardly

one stone upon another to tell how once they looked; some, like the Augustinian Priory or the Cloister of the Bare-foot brothers in the Karl's Platz, absolutely annihilated; some, like Stift Neuburg, changed and adapted to modern uses.

The source of strength which made the arts so greatly to flourish is no doubt to be found in the Trade-Guilds, of which the most powerful, closely knit, and widespread was that of the Masons. The principles on which these guilds were founded were Christian brotherhood and common interests between the workers, masters or men. In this they differed essentially from the modern Trade-Union of men against masters. By these a standard of honest work was kept up, since bad work entailed serious penalties and loss of position in the Guild, and there was a wholesome rivalry in honour in place of the unrestricted competition and underselling of modern days. Prices were fixed at a fair rate by the Guild, and so were wages, which must have been high, as there came to be so much ostentation in dress among journeymen and apprentices that sumptuary laws became necessary. Youth and age were both cared for; there was provision for sickness or accident, for old men past work, for widows and orphans; while the system of apprenticeship furnished the best possible instruction for the young. The religious basis on which the Guild rested is shown by an enactment of the Stonemasons' Guild for the year 1462: "Masters and journeymen shall keep Christian order, stand by each other, attend High Mass every Sunday, and receive the Holy Sacrament at least once every year," and each man was expected to contribute weekly from his earnings to the service of God and to the sick fund. Good fellowship was fostered by processions, feasts, and plays on all the chief holidays.*

While individual talent had free play—as may well be seen in the grotesques and humorous carvings to be found in many churches, as well as in touches of beauty that can only spring unbidden from the workman's hand

* Janssen, *Geschichte des Deutschen Volks.*

—all worked in obedience to order and on a set plan. Traditions of sound workmanship handed on from the experience of ages had to be observed, but there was no grinding, machine-made uniformity. The same laws obtained also in the other trade-guilds; the weavers, the dyers, the tanners, the gold and silver smiths, the potters, the wood-carvers, those who wrought in iron, each had their guilds and their guild laws, which kept their work up to a certain high standard. Why is it that German art-work of the Middle Ages or Renaissance is so highly prized? Not because it is old; old age will never give a value to Brummagem wares. But because being good it has been able to defy the wear of time.

Next to architecture came sculpture, and if the sculpture of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries failed to rival the treasures of ancient art that were being dug up out of the soil of Sicily, Greece, and Rome, it had a certain virile, solid merit. The beautiful façade of Otto Heinrich's splendid building, if it is not, as Leger claims for it, quite worthy to rank beside the masterpieces of antiquity, is full of Greek feeling and Greek beauty, and the statues of Sebastian Götz at the end of the same century were magnificent. Choice examples of sculpture are to be found in Nuremberg in the touching "Way of the Cross" and "Pietà" of Adam Krafft, and the same spirit manifested itself in the allied arts of wood-carving and bronze-casting in the fine work of Veit Stoss and of Peter Fischer and his five sons in the St. Sebald and St. Lorenz churches.

In the revival of painting which brought forth Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach, the Cologne Masters, and Holbein, Heidelberg shared to some extent. Very many of its precious historical portraits were lost in the two successive destructions, but some few survive, as well as several very interesting drawings and woodcuts. There is an excellent painting of Otto Heinrich by Bartel Beham, reminiscent of Holbein, and so like our Henry VIII. that for years it was held to be a portrait of that monarch. Otto Heinrich is also represented in a clever drawing by Sebastian Münster, looking out of the window of his coach. There

are several worthies of the Reformation era—Friedrich the Pious, Friedrich the Wise of Saxony, Luther and Melancthon, and Luther's so-called wife. A series, more interesting and curious than artistically valuable, depicts the enormous family of a burgher of Heidelberg, the babies of two years and even one year old represented standing up straight in long gowns stiff with gold embroidery, and queer little caps on their bald heads.

A considerable collection of woodcuts, prints, and engravings, both in the Castle Museum and in the Library, testify to the influence of Dürer on the art of Heidelberg, and earlier a wonderful perfection had been attained in what was then known as miniature painting, the illumination of Missals, Breviaries, Vulgate, or Song-books, either on parchment or on paper in colours still fresh, vivid, and delicate; the exquisite drawing and detail of flowers, birds, beasts, and insects displaying a marvellous familiarity with nature, while a keen sense of humour peeps out in many quaint conceits. Nothing strikes our modern taste as odder than the way these old painters would introduce in the border round sacred words, grotesques of apes, cocks, pigs, foxes in laughable situations, and they delighted to show up the devil made ridiculous, as in an illumination in the great Prayer-book Dürer painted for the Emperor Max, where in one design, while the Blessed Virgin prays, the devil is caught in a hailstorm. Mirth as well as beauty had free play. This kind of work was for centuries poured out in profusion from the monasteries, most of the Scriptoria being perfect schools of art. An interesting example of amateur sketching has been preserved in the little pen-and-ink drawing by Otto Heinrich of the old Castle, done only just before it was blown up.*

In the somewhat allied art of embroidery the convents, especially those like Stift Neuburg, established for the daughters of noble and princely families, were very distinguished. While some convents, such as the Poor Clares, were more particularly devoted to the care of the

* See page 128.

poor, the sick, or the orphans, others spent their time in the production of masterpieces of needlework chiefly intended for the adornment of the sanctuary and its ministers. Besides the needle embroidery in silks or gold and silver thread, these ladies made lace, old German point, which is much sought after, and other kinds used on sacred vestments; they wove both in silk and wool, made tapestry, and adorned white linen with wonderful drawn work. As most of the members of these communities studied Latin, made translations, wrote commentaries and letters, and gardened, they cannot have had much idle time upon their hands. Women in the world too, gentle and simple, mothers of families and daughters, were skilful in spinning and weaving, knitting, and all kinds of embroidery.

The richness of dress and its fair colours are depicted in the illuminations of the times, and may particularly be gathered from the colour-drawings illustrative of the Lays of the Minnesingers, the Story of Lancelot, and kindred books; and it is evident that this was not confined to the upper classes or the wealthy burghers, but journeymen, 'prentices, even peasants, pranked themselves out on gala occasions. Furs, silks and velvets, brocades and embroideries, and long gold chains, were quite usual among the middle classes. The students too had become such dandies by the end of the fifteenth century that regulations had to be imposed to curtail their extravagance.

The weaving of carpets and curtains, of tapestry hangings and bed furniture, had become quite an important industry, and the inside of mediæval houses, as well as the banqueting halls and state chambers of castles, which in their ruined state look so grim and cheerless, must have had a very rich and warm appearance so draped and adorned, and with gay wrought cushions in the embrasure of every window, the windows themselves too being filled with stained glass, usually bearing coats-of-arms. The solid oak tables and stools, the carved chairs, coffers, and armoires, the richly inlaid pieces of furniture which have

survived, the magnificent plate, the silver tankards—quite early in the fifteenth century Æneas Sylvius said there was not an inn in Mayence where the drinking vessels were not of silver—the pottery, the porcelain, the Bohemian or Munich glass, the ivory carvings, the goldsmith's work, all formed a background to a life that was gay and rich and well equipped.

Nor was Germany's especial gift of music neglected. Violins were not known for yet another century, but church music had its organs, domestic music its glee-singers and its lutes and viols. In 1475 the Nuremberg organ-builder, Conrad Rosenburger, made a manual and pedal organ after the invention of a German working in Venice, Bernard by name, and year by year pedal organs were being placed in all the great cathedrals and important churches. The learned Humanist, Rudolf Agricola, is believed to have been an organ-builder, and helped at least in the putting up, if he did not himself build a new organ, at St. Martin's Church in Groningen. He was musician as well as poet, and used to sing his own little German songs to the cither. Organ-playing, too, made great strides: counterpoint and playing from a figured bass was developing into the perfect art which was to find its great exponent two centuries later in Sebastian Bach. A blind organ-player, Conrad Baumann from Nuremberg, was great in this line, and was invited to display his skill at many Courts, doubtless at that of Heidelberg. Friedrich II.'s charming lute-playing and the exquisite singing of Clara Dettin, wife to Friedrich I., have already been referred to. Glee-singing, always a favourite art in Germany, had been for long habitual amongst peasants and artisans as well as in higher circles.

Of masques, interludes, or other theatrical performances, so popular in England, we hear little in Germany until a later date; but in the reign of Elizabeth it had become the fashion for English travelling companies of actors to go on tour to Germany, giving performances at various Courts; if these were seen in Heidelberg there is no record of it. The favourite indoor amusements were

dancing and feasting, especially the latter; not in vain is Heidelberg distinguished for its Great Tun. The vice of drinking, which from of old had taken strong hold of Germany, was rampant in the land of Rhine wines, and in the reign of Ludwig V. there is mention of the earliest known Temperance Society, the Guild of St. Christopher. This aimed at moderation rather than total abstinence: the Elector enrolled himself in it as well as his brother and two nephews, and their example was followed by many of the higher nobility.

The great passion of most of the Electors Palatine and their wives was for hunting and hawking, amusements for which the wooded hills around their home afforded splendid facilities. Up to the sixteenth century tournaments were in great favour and given on all grand occasions, but they now began to go a little out of fashion and be supplanted by contests at shooting with the cross-bow. In 1524 a grand match was held at Heidelberg in a big field just outside the Speirer Gate; thirty princes were present, and a tent for their use and a great amphitheatre for the spectators were erected.

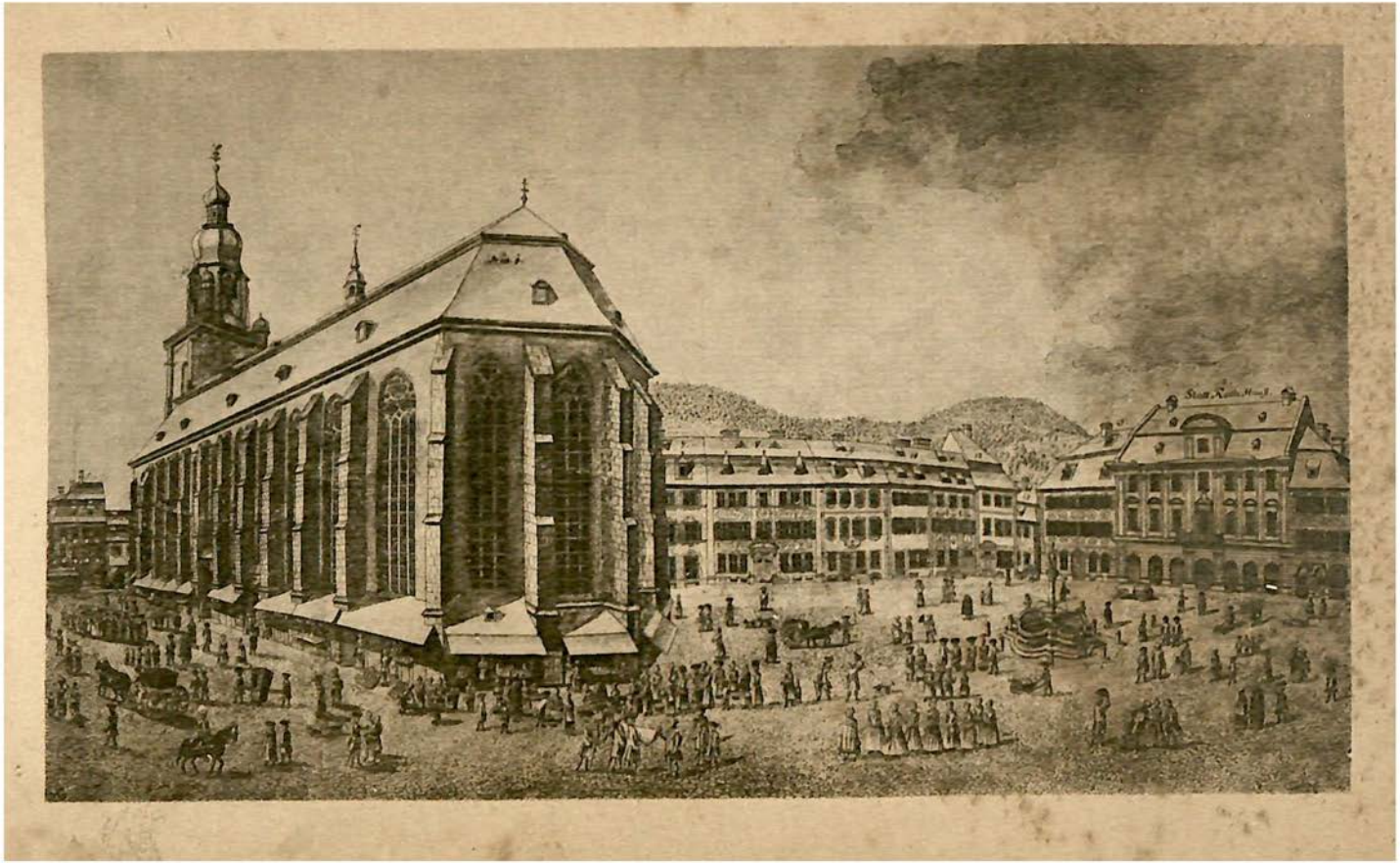
So bloomed the arts of life, the humanities, and all that makes life fair on the eve of the great change which was to bring long wars and desolation in its train.

BOOK IV

THE DIVIDED CHURCH

THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY GHOST.

Old Print.



I

THE NEW DOCTRINE

THE glory of Heidelberg in nowise consists in its churches; though the seat of secular government, it possessed no cathedral of its own, being in the diocese of Worms. The great church in the Market Place, dedicated to the Holy Ghost, has fulfilled most of the functions of a cathedral, having been raised by Ruprecht the Emperor to the rank of a Stiftskirche, an expression for which we have no exact equivalent, but which may be rendered a Chapter church, possessing a Dean and Chapter, though minus the dignity of the Bishop's throne. It is a lofty Gothic structure, too lofty for perfect proportion, more interesting than beautiful, and of plain exterior, and within it is strangely marred. Right across the midst, dividing choir from nave, runs a solid partition; on the east still stands the altar of Catholic worship, on the other side a high pulpit dominates the nave, beneath which stands a plain stone table covered with a piece of black velvet, where the Lord's Supper is received according to the rite of the Reformed Church.

The story of the church of the Holy Ghost is a story of strife; even its earliest founder, Conrad von Hohenstaufen, was frequently at odds with the ecclesiastical power. He built on this site a chapel dedicated to the Holy Ghost, which became the choir of the subsequent church, and placed it under the Abbey of Schönau; it would seem to have been in some sort a district church to St. Peter's, the old parish church at the foot of the Castle hill, for when Ruprecht III. desired to make it a University foundation he had to obtain permission from the Pope to free it from dependence on St. Peter's. He

did not live to carry out the scheme, but his son Ludwig III. founded the Collegiate Chapter in 1413, and chose its members from among the University body, the senior Theological Professor, Nicholas von Jauer, being the first Dean, the senior Professor of Canon Law, Johann de Noet, the first Warden (Custos). There were twelve Canons and twelve Vicars or Minor Canons, all University men, so that the learned character of the preachers gave it soon a very high reputation, and it almost ranked as a cathedral.

Ludwig also presented to it a newly built house opposite, "between the house of Black Reinart von Sickingen and that of the late Nydenstein," for a Deanery. Subsequently the Deanery was the house adjoining the Rath-Haus, in what is now the new wing. A little later two storeys were added in the roof of the nave to contain the Library and other treasures. The connection of the church with learning was always close; from 1446 until the Reformation the festival of St. Katharine, the patron saint of Learning, was observed yearly within its walls, and all great functions connected with the University were always held there.

On 30 December, 1545, Friedrich II. tentatively introduced the Reformed Doctrine into Heidelberg, and on the following 3rd of January the Holy Sacrament was celebrated on its altar according to the new rite; that is, the Cup was permitted to the laity, the Liturgy being read in German according to Luther's adaptation.* From that day onward it was the scene of strife: Friedrich II. restored some measure of Catholic ceremonial, and fined those who would not join in the Corpus Christi procession; Otto Heinrich dissolved the Chapter and reorganized worship on Lutheran lines. Under Friedrich the Pious the practices of the Swiss Reformers were introduced; his son Ludwig put back again the Lutheran rite, which was cast out once more by Johann Casimir in the name of his nephew Friedrich IV. Under the latter and his son, Friedrich V., the Reformed worship held its own until the church was plundered and well-nigh annihilated

* *Die Heilig-geistkirche*, von Friedrich Schwartz. *Fest Chronik*, 1885.

in the Thirty Years War. Karl Ludwig somewhat allayed the bitter strife between Lutherans and Calvinists and restored the Reformed worship in a modified form, hoping to amalgamate the two; but after the Orleans War a Catholic reaction set in under Johann Wilhelm, which, being energetically resisted by the Heidelbergers, ended in setting up the wall of partition. A later attempt to win the church back for the old religion, made by Karl Philip, occasioned so serious a riot that he was compelled to yield, and in dudgeon removed his Court to Mannheim instead of fulfilling his intention of rebuilding the Castle. The story of the long religious struggle, of which this church is so striking an epitome, must, however, be told somewhat more in detail.

Though the people of the Palatinate, and even the University which had been so slow to accept the New Learning, were quick to embrace the New Doctrine, it was long before the latter received official sanction: Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick, Hesse, were all declared Protestant States while the Palatinate was making gradual and tentative steps towards Reform, yet from the first there was no attempt to crush or stamp out the teaching of Luther. The last four Electors of the House of Wittelsbach were liberal-minded men, ready to give a fair hearing to new ideas, but by no means eager to rush upon the old with iconoclastic zeal. So early as 1417 Philip the Upright had invited Wesselus of Ghent, who had been writing against the doctrine of Transubstantiation, to fill the Chair of Theology, which, however, he could not do without taking the tonsure, so he was appointed Professor of Humane Letters with Hebrew. Amongst his pupils were Dalberg, later Bishop of Worms, and Theodor Plenningen.*

During these reigns the man who was destined to have the most profound influence on the trend of the Reformation in Heidelberg was growing up.† The Elector Philip, who was so quick to recognize genius and so liberal

* *Historia de Ecclesiæ Palatinis*, Henrici Altingii.
† *Führer für Fremde*, von Th. A. Leger.

to encourage it, wherever found, had been immensely struck by the talent of a young smith called Georg Schwarzerd; he had the lad apprenticed to the most skilful armourer in Heidelberg and thoroughly well educated, and he soon became celebrated in his trade as Meister Georg of Heidelberg. So great was the fame of his work that he had more orders from crowned heads than he could execute, and many tried to tempt him away from Philip's Court. He had the honour of making a famous suit of armour for the Emperor Max, who rewarded him by the bestowal of a coat-of-arms: on a black field the Lion of the Palatinate seated on a crown with hammer and tongs in his paws. Meister Georg was, however, faithful to his earliest patron, and was by him made Master of the Armoury with oversight of all the arsenals in his dominions, of which the chief were in the Castle, in the Magazine in the town, and at the Marstall, and he was later appointed Councillor of Fortifications, in which capacity he designed the important defences of the Castle begun by Philip and carried out by Ludwig V. But while his name is rarely mentioned in connection with the great work of which he should have the credit, that of his second son, named after his patron Philip, became notorious. For this Philip was the friend of Luther, the adviser of Friedrich the Pious in the changes he introduced into the reformed worship, and is known to history under the Latin form of his patronymic, Melancthon (Black Earth). He studied at the Heidelberg University under the "pious, wise, and erudite" Doctor Palas Spangel, who lectured there for thirty-six years.

The young Melancthon, however, does not appear to have been in Heidelberg in the year 1518, when an enormous concourse assembled in the great hall of the Augustinian Monastery to hear the famous monk of Wittenberg debate the Theses which half a year before he had affixed to the church doors. The meeting had been summoned primarily to discuss points of discipline, but it was an excellent opportunity to hold a disputation on the new views which were exciting so keen an interest, and the

great Lecture Hall was thronged with monks and courtiers, professors, students, and townsfolk, all eager to see and hear the man about whom all the world was talking. Luther was very well received; he came with an introduction from the Elector Friedrich of Saxony, whose Court Chaplain, Spalatin, was among his warmest friends and upholders.

His opponent was an Augustinian monk, Leonard Beier by name, and Luther maintained against him forty theses on Grace, Justification, Faith, and Works, supported partly by theological, partly by philosophical arguments. The only extant account of the disputation exists in Luther's own letters, in which he gives his opponent credit for taste and subtlety, and claims for himself brevity and incisive force. The discussion, of course, spread from the cloister to the town, and every one, from the Elector's palace to the cobbler's stall, was arguing about justification by faith. The University professors for the most part resented the slight put by Luther on the authority of Aristotle, who was the great standby of the schoolmen, though in the *Letters of Obscure Men* (Dunkelmänner Briefe), which von Hutten and Rubianus were pouring forth from the shelter of the Archbishop's Palace in Mayence, it was asserted that the Heidelberg University was no longer given to the "scholastic rage" of former days.

The Elector's brother, the Count Palatine Wolfgang, had been educated at Wittenberg by Œcolampadius and was very well inclined to the reformed doctrines, though he never wholly broke with the Church of his fathers. He had already made Luther's acquaintance and was kindly disposed towards him, though his own leanings were rather to free thought and free discussion of religious problems than to the Reformer's obstinate dogmatism. The Elector himself, of an earnest, serious spirit, always moderate and kindly, called the Pacific, was inclined to give a certain welcome to new views so long as the public peace was not disturbed, and would permit no measures of persecution. He, like every thoughtful man of the

day, was fully alive to the serious scandals which disgraced the Church; indeed, there can hardly have been a good man in the length and breadth of Germany, however sincere his attachment to the ancient faith, who was not scandalized by the manner in which Tetzel was hawking indulgences in order to fill the Pope's coffers for the building of St. Peter's. It was time, and every one felt it, that some voice should be uplifted in protest, and that of the Monk of Wittenberg was a bold and a loud one.

The young Archbishop of Mayence too was somewhat given to free thought, or at least to befriending some who indulged it,* and it was in his house that von Hutten and Rubianus were concocting the *Letters of Obscure Men;* but later, when his pockets were touched by the attack on the sale of indulgences, his note changed.

Signs of upheaval were not long in coming; learned men, such as Bucer, Brenz, and Pellican, began to expound the Scriptures with the gloss of Luther from their professorial Chairs; so much excitement and bitter feeling were aroused that the Elector felt constrained to close their class-rooms. Pellican, who had been called "Agricola Redivivus," resigned his Chair and his Church preferment, and retired to the country, where he ended his days in pious meditation and prayers, dying in 1528. The new views, however, were not to be silenced; the torch he had let drop was handed on by Frechtus, Sturmius, Schnepsius, who all became great lights of the Reformation.

A century earlier Nicholas von Cues, who took his name from his birthplace, a village on the Moselle, a very learned man, educated in Italy, who became Bishop of Brixen, had been working his life long earnestly but quietly for the revival of learning and the reform of the Church. Perhaps he was too quiet and gentle for the times he lived in; possibly his ideals were too Utopian; his aim was "to pacify and renew, not to tread underfoot and destroy; not that men should change what was sacred, but that what was sacred should change men."

* *Renaissance und Humanismus*, Geiger.

In Philosophy he inclined to mysticism, but he was no obscurantist or reactionary; himself a very learned man, a first-rate mathematician and astronomer, he was anxious to encourage study, secular as well as sacred, amongst churchmen. He made the great discovery of the turning of the earth upon its axis, though, as so often happens, the same discovery was made by others, who reaped the credit of it, and he also helped Gregory XIII. to make the new Calendar.* One of his most ardent wishes was for reunion with the Eastern Branch of the Church. Trithemius' description of him is very attractive: "Nicholas von Cues appeared in Germany as an angel of light and peace in the midst of darkness and confusion, restored the unity of the Church and confirmed respect for her supreme Head, and strewed good seed of new life. From his knowledge true wisdom is to be learned."† "A mirror of priestly virtue" is another contemporary description, "preaching as much by his example as by his words." But, alas! the world was too full of din to listen to so mild a voice; ears were deafened with the clash of loud polemics, eyes were blinded by self-seeking. Doubtless the teaching of such men prepared a soil in the hearts of the right-thinking for the reception of what was good in the Reformation, only unhappily the forces of disorder, greed, and anarchy behind were too strong and swept the movement right over the bounds the wise would have guided it in.

To these wise men belonged Ludwig the Pacific; he did not seek to stifle inquiry nor to punish men for having their consciences stirred by the growing scandals of the time; he was willing to protect preachers of new doctrine so long as there was no breach of the peace, and he was quite inclined to introduce reforms into his dominions, but in those days every step in advance seemed fraught with peril. On the Alsatian border Franz von Sickingen, with the aid and advice of Œcolampadius and Bucer, was already trying to bring in, not only the new form of wor-

* *Renaissance und Humanismus*, Geiger.
† *Geschichte des Deutschen Volks*, Janssen.

ship, but much mischievous and inflammatory doctrine, with rash impetuosity; while in the neighbourhood of Zweibrücken the Veldenz princes were putting down the Mass and setting up Lutheran Church order, dispossessing their priests and appointing ministers chosen by the congregation. For Luther's new theory was that the priesthood resided in the whole people, the ordained priests acting as their delegates, and receiving authority from below, not from above.

Such doctrines are very attractive to the masses, and they spread rapidly through the Kraichgau and the Neckarthal. Ludwig, true to his principle of giving every opinion a fair hearing, proposed a Council to weigh impartially the new teaching, and consider how far the writings of Luther squared with the Word of God and wherein they differed. Had all men been of his calm and just temper, such a Council might have been of great use, but argument only inflamed the excited passions of the theologians, and a Brief from Pope Adrian, exhorting the University of Heidelberg to remain true to the old faith, only added fuel to the fire.

In 1521 the Elector Palatine took part in the Diet at Worms, and it was very largely due to his influence, as well as to that of Luther's avowed protector, the Elector of Saxony, that the Reformer was saved from the fate of Huss; for Ludwig, like his nephew, had always deeply regretted the part played by his great-grandfather in that tragedy. When the writings of Luther were condemned, he insisted on reading them through, saying to his brother that princes should study both true and false to choose the best faith, and that religious dissent brought in worse evils than those it was designed to root out. But moderate men could not get a hearing; the Edict of Worms was uttered in vain, the fire had got too greatly ahead, and Protestantism went on its way unhindered, while Luther was carried off by his friends and kept in safety in the Wartburg.

At this critical moment, when so much might have been hoped from Ludwig's liberality and moderation, came the

outbreak of the Peasant War, revealing the complication of the new religious doctrine with the latent socialism provoked by the Roman Law, and terrifying the friends of law and order, as well as those whose property was threatened, into an attitude of far more stubborn conservatism than heretofore. Ludwig himself, though he treated the revolted peasants most mercifully and would have met the more reasonable of their demands, certainly modified his views and turned more decidedly to the old Church after the rebellion.

The town, however, moved in the opposite direction, and when Melancthon returned after an absence he was received with a degree of enthusiasm that was in itself significant; town and University fêted him, and he was presented with a silver beaker of considerable value. At this time he was on friendly terms with Luther, and had not yet departed from his teaching on the doctrine of the Mass. Whether he personally took part in Ludwig's conference does not appear, but doubtless he strongly influenced those who did. Amongst those who sat there were men of such diverse views as Hermann Busch, Grynæus, and Sebastian Münster. Their report did not result in any official changes, for attendance at the Mass was enjoined under penalties in an Act of 1526, though Ludwig, as well as his brother Friedrich, was severe against the bitterness of the monks and "heresy hunters," and endeavoured in every way to repress the spirit of persecution. His neutral and tolerant attitude was not to be shaken by a letter he received from Henry VIII. of England, with whom, it will be remembered, his brother and nephew had some personal acquaintance, in which he was exhorted "to root out the poisonous pestilence of the Reformation."

The year after the conference saw the hardening of the two opposing parties into two hostile bodies, the Catholic princes of the north joining in a League with those of the south; while the chief Protestant powers—the Elector John the Constant of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Duke of Anhalt-

Kothen, the Duke of Prussia, who was also Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, together with several of the free towns, formed themselves into a Union, seeking the support of the Kings of Denmark and Sweden. The Elector Palatine stood aloof from both parties, still hoping for conciliation and *rapprochement*, but from this moment all hope was lost. For the Diet of Spires enunciated the Erastian principle of granting to the head of each State the right to religious independence, which set the State above the Church and promoted the disruption of the Empire. *Cujus Regio, ejus Religio* became the motto.*

In 1530 came the Diet of Augsburg, and an attempt was made to draw up some temperate formula on which all Protestants could agree, so that their opinions might obtain the "charitable hearing" promised by the Emperor. This was done at the command of the Elector of Saxony, and is known as the Confession of Augsburg. It claimed that there was nothing in the Protestant doctrines repugnant to Holy Scripture nor to the teaching of the Church Catholic or Roman, but it dissented only from abuses and corruptions. Its studied restraint reflected the gentle temper of Melancthon, who, though his views on doctrine became subsequently so extreme, was of a much calmer spirit than Luther, who when the draft was offered for his approval, exclaimed, "I cannot tread so softly and gently!" But, as usually happens with a compromise, it satisfied no one: it emphasized the rift already beginning to show itself between the Lutheran doctrine of the Real Presence and that of the Swiss Reformers; while the Catholics saw in it a want of candour, and did not trust its ambiguous phrases. It hardly made for peace, but it was at least a minimum on which Protestants might combine for mutual support, and upon that basis the League of Schmalkald was formed. Neither Ludwig nor his brother signed this; indeed, Friedrich sat as an imperial representative, though he did not entirely escape the imputation of heresy, since he shared Ludwig's

* *The Continental Reformation*, Benjamin Kidd.

liberal views, and his private chaplain was a suspected person.

The Council of Trent, which assembled before the death of Ludwig, aggravated the situation seriously, and the impossibility of neutrality became year by year more pronounced. When Friedrich II. succeeded he found he had inherited an almost impossible position, for the time had come when to take a side was imperative, and to taking sides he was constitutionally averse, and not the less so when advancing age made him unwilling to run risks. A man of fair and open mind, a looker-on at life, alive to much that appealed to him on both sides, he was by no means of a religious temperament, and would much have preferred the quiet non-committal neutrality his brother had been able to preserve for so long. Those completely misread his character who claimed him as a secret Protestant, only withheld from declaring himself by fear of the Emperor. If fear affected his conduct at all, it was fear of his own subjects, for, if their rulers were lukewarm or neutral, the people were not; Heidelberg by the middle of the century had become passionately Protestant, and looked with envy at the Neuburg Palatinate, where Otto Heinrich had introduced the Reformed worship and definitely broken with the Pope.

Otto Heinrich was the rightful heir according to the Golden Bull, though not according to the dispositions of his grandfather's will, and Friedrich was uneasily aware that his nephew was a more popular man than himself. He had outlived the charm and fascination of his younger days; he had been snubbed by foreign princesses, whom he sought to woo; he had been always a needy man, and not always too scrupulous how he filled his pockets, and an out-at-elbows heir does not endear himself to a proud people as were the Heidelbergers. One method of winning back his waning popularity remained to him; he might gain the hearts of his people by setting up the Reformed worship for which they sighed. So on Christmas Eve, 1545, Mass was sung in the Castle Chapel in German, and the Holy Communion administered in both

kinds to the laity, and this was repeated in the church of the Holy Ghost on the 3rd of January following. Great was the jubilation among the populace, but Friedrich found himself betwixt the devil and the deep sea. The Pope sent to command the University to dispatch a representative forthwith to the Council of Trent to affirm the Catholic Faith and condemn Protestant heresy, and, what touched Friedrich more nearly, the Emperor signified his indignant disapproval. Friedrich had been the friend of Charles from boyhood, and that he should have taken this step at the moment that the Emperor was surrounded with perplexities and defections was a deep affront. No wonder when Charles assembled the knighthood of his dominions at Utrecht for the festival of the Golden Fleece, the Elector Palatine was pointedly left out. He sought to strengthen himself by an alliance with Ulrich of Wurtemberg, but he was uneasy and half-hearted and only too glad to submit himself to the Emperor and withdraw his unwilling concessions; indeed, the following year he commanded attendance at the Corpus Christi procession under penalties.

In one direction his reforming zeal resembled that of our own King Henry VIII., not improbably it was quickened by the same covetous desires; in his reign the suppression of the monasteries went on apace, and the great Augustinian Foundation was by him converted into the Collegium Sapientiæ, which stood until the burning of the town, on the site of the present University building. This had been going on throughout Germany for a quarter of a century, for behind the honest desire of reform pressed on the forces of greed and revolt, and the measure was popular with those who thought they should share in the spoil, and did not realize what the loss of schools, hospitals, orphanages, doles to the poor would mean. Probably in many cases there was crying need of reform, in some even suppression may have been deserved; but the case of the Poor Clares in Nuremberg was typical of hundreds.

The quiet and useful course of life led by the sisters

there is indicated in many of the letters of Charitas Pirkheimer, the abbess. She wrote to her brother a pathetic account of the suppression which he, formerly well inclined to the views of the Reformers, sent on to Melancthon.* The self-constituted authorities called upon the nuns to dismiss their Franciscan confessors and place themselves in the hands of the new preachers, many of them renegade and married monks. The ladies petitioned very humbly against this unjustifiable demand, whereupon they were reproached that they were forbidden the Scriptures. "We answered with absolute truthfulness," says Charitas, "that we used daily both the Old and New Testament in German and Latin." Parents who lived in the town were induced to compel their daughters to return home, and even to try and coerce them to renounce their vows and marry. Threats of burning the convent over their heads were resorted to, but in the end it was dissolved without violence and the nuns turned out into the world.

It was one thing to protest against the abuse of forcing the unwilling or the unfit to take vows upon them; it was quite another to dispense men and women from vows already taken, and Luther seriously weakened his cause with high-principled people by living in questionable marriage with a runaway nun, though he may have gained adherents among those who were glad of the sanction of an example to follow their own desires. Pirkheimer, writing to Zasius on the declension of the ideals with which the Reformation began, says: "I hoped for a certain liberty, especially spiritual, but now it is plainly to be seen that all is so turned to fleshly lust that the last things are worse than the first."

When Friedrich died, though he was never a declared Protestant, his funeral, by the wish of his nephew, was shorn of all Catholic ceremonial. Under Otto Heinrich the Reformation took a much more decided line, though it must be conceded that he went about his reforms in a liberal and conciliatory spirit. He and his brother Philip

* *Geschichte des Deutschen Volks*, Janssen.

had in their young days at the University come much under the influence of Melancthon, and he was not of the stuff which can long halt between two opinions. He had early, but with moderation, introduced the reformed worship into his own dominions, and so soon as he was established in Heidelberg he brought in the Protestant form as set up by Luther, and ordered the preaching of "Orthodox Evangelical doctrine." He had early accepted the Confession of Augsburg and joined the League of Schmalkald, and on his accession he made a declaration that "having forsaken his errors and entered on a better way, he desired to introduce the new teaching as he had done at Neuburg." This was by no means so extreme as that which his successor brought in. The smaller altars in the churches were abolished together with relics and pictures of the saints, but the Crucifix remained. The Elector's wide views and cultivated tolerant temper kept all iconoclasm in check. He took an active part in the conference that met at Worms in 1557 to unite the Protestants under one denomination, and to approach the Catholics in a peaceable and conciliatory spirit. The next year at Frankfort, in pursuance of the same policy, he sketched a Confession of Faith, somewhat on the lines of that of Augsburg, but so moderate that men of the most divergent views were ready to sign it. Unhappily the forces of disruption were far stronger than those which made for healing.

His first task was to reorganize the hierarchy, his second to reform the University, and for both these things he called upon the aid of his trusted adviser Melancthon, on whose suggestion he appointed Thilemann Hesshus one of his principal preachers. Upon the Council were for the first time two laymen, Thomas Erast, a doctor of medicine, and Christopher Ehem. Although Melancthon had a leaning to Episcopacy, and some of the bishops had embraced Lutheranism, so that there would have been no difficulty in reorganizing the Church on the same lines as had been done in England, Luther had definitely broken with Sacerdotalism and embraced the Congregational principle; accordingly, orders of Pastors and Deacons,

chosen by lay suffrage, were appointed, and over them were set Special Superintendents, whose functions should in a measure answer to those of bishops, with a General Superintendent over all. Thus very quietly, without riot or persecution, the Reformation was established in the Palatinate.

Otto Heinrich next took the University in hand, and Melancthon came to Heidelberg 22 October, 1557, to help him draw up a scheme. A new Code of Laws and a complete reorganization of the Professoriate were arranged, the last Catholic was got rid of and his Theological Chair filled by Hesshus. Much was also done to strengthen the other Faculties and to secure sufficient salaries to all officials. The Elector undertook to maintain a certain number of poor theological students at the Dionysium, in order to keep up the supply of preachers, and did much for the College of Wisdom set up by his predecessor. He was zealous in the cause of education throughout his dominions, and had Bibles, Catechisms, and translations of the Psalms distributed among the people.

A strange ironic vengeance overtook him for interfering with the religious rites on his uncle's death. Like Browning's Renaissance Bishop, he would prepare his tomb in his lifetime, that he might enjoy its artistic glories. The marble fragments preserved in the Museum show it to have been of great beauty, and his classical taste led him to adorn it with symbolic female figures or caryatides; but the Church Council he had set up considered them unsuitable for a place of worship, and ordered the removal of the tomb, to which order, for example's sake, he was compelled to submit. It was symptomatic of what was coming, for with him died the enlightened tolerant spirit which distinguished the first steps of the Reformation in the Palatinate.

II

THE HEIDELBERG CATECHISM

WITH the accession of the House of Simmern the religious policy of the Palatinate underwent a complete change; instead of the kindly tolerance of the Wittelsbach princes, welcoming new light, and allowing for differences of opinion and temperament, a strict Calvinism came in, to the full as bigoted as the sacerdotalism it sought to supersede. The contrast between the mental attitude of Friedrich III. and Friedrich II. was the more marked inasmuch as there had been many points of resemblance in their upbringing; the difference lay in the essential characteristics of the two men. The father of Friedrich the Pious, Johann Count Palatine of Simmern and Zweibrücken, was as cultivated a man as Philip the Upright, and no less anxious that his sons should see the world and visit foreign Courts; at the age of seventeen his son Friedrich had won his spurs in the never-ending wars with the Turks, and much of his youth was passed in the Court of Charles V. But the experiences which with his namesake, the earlier Friedrich, had made for liberality of mind, had with his narrower but more serious nature wrought a deep antipathy to the Papacy and a leaning towards the more Puritanical side of the new religion. In the beginning he was a Lutheran and signed the Augsburg Confession, but his tendencies became more and more pronounced towards the doctrines of the Swiss Reformers, and his wife, a Lutheran princess of Brandenburg-Baireuth, who had at first sought to keep him in the same way, was soon influenced by his stronger nature and became as Zwinglian as himself.

FRIEDRICH THE PIOUS: ELECTOR PALATINE.

From a portrait by Lucas Cranach the Elder in the Castle Museum.

His eldest son Ludwig, already twenty at Friedrich's accession, had been bred in the earlier views of his father, and remained a strict Lutheran; he, according to the custom already established, took up the government of the Upper Palatinate and made his residence at Amberg.

The title of Friedrich III. came from the third son of Ruprecht III., who had inherited Simmern and Zweibrücken, the issue of the second son, Johann of Pfalz-Neumarkt, having died out. His claim was uncontested, and he was invested with the Palatinate and with the Electoral title by the Emperor Ferdinand at the Reichstag at Augsburg, 11 July, 1559, being then in his forty-fourth year. At the same Reichstag the Emperor renewed his attempt to induce the Protestant princes to take part in the Council of Trent, which they for a quibble—for they were now far too strong to be personally imperilled by repairing to a place within the Papal jurisdiction—obstinately refused to do, thereby depriving it of moral weight with those who already stood outside the Church, robbing the Church of a valuable element when it was most needed, and themselves of justifiable standing-ground. It need hardly be said that Friedrich the Pious was among those who would have nothing to do with the Council. The Diet of 1555 had ratified the agreement made earlier at Spires, which made each prince the head of religion in his own dominions, and this suited their purview better than any scheme of mutual concession or toleration would have done, and that it was paving the way for the Thirty Years War was one of the things which time alone could reveal.

When Friedrich came to Heidelberg he found the city ripe for schism; for the doctrine of the Swiss Reformers which had been filtering in for some time was in many respects antagonistic to that of Luther. Melancthon, who had been the friend and adviser of Otto Heinrich, and on such points as Episcopacy had formerly inclined to a more sacerdotal doctrine, had of late become strongly tinctured with Zwinglianism, and was inclined to join hands with the Swiss Reformers, and his followers were

known as Philippists. The General Superintendent Hesshus, who had been appointed on his recommendation, had meanwhile developed into a strong and ardent Lutheran, and there were many, especially among the Huguenot and Dutch refugees, for whom the doctrine of Melancthon did not go far enough. The split went very deep, for it was not on minor matters, such as vestments or organs, on which reasonable men might agree to differ, but was of the essential matters of belief. For the Lutheran the Mass or the Holy Supper, as it was now called, was a real Sacrament, though he denied its efficacy as a Sacrifice for sin; for the Calvinist or Zwinglian it was nothing but a feast of remembrance, possibly a means of grace, and their divines explained the words *Hoc est Corpus* as merely a trope. These views were manifestly irreconcilable; it was impossible to hold both, neither was there any middle course between them. Thus a quarter of a century saw the forces of Protestantism divided into two hostile camps, not to speak of the many minor heresies and schisms which arose year by year.

The introduction to the *Historia de Ecclesiae Palatinis*, written the following century by Heinrich Alting, has a curious passage. From the Apostles and early Fathers he skips to the time of the Reformers, with a cursory reference to the corruptions of Rome, and proceeds to say that the Mother Church was Jerusalem; and later two Metropoles arose, Wittenberg, in Saxony, following the teaching of Martin Luther, Tigurum (Zurich), in Switzerland, that of Huldreich Zwinglius: Wittenberg famous for the first beginning of Reformed doctrine, Tigurum for purity, clearness, and perfection.

Before the death of Otto Heinrich strife had begun over the drawing up of a new hymn-book, in which Hesshus would have none but Lutheran hymns, while the other party, at the head of which was Klebnitz, insisted on including those of Bucer and Melancthon, and accused him of trying to make himself a "Protestant Pope," as no doubt he did, like every one else who got the power. The Elector was trying to mediate and re-

store peace at the time of his death. During the absence of the new Elector at Augsburg the strife flamed forth again, and on his return he proposed a conference to compose differences and draw up a definition of doctrine on the lines of compromise. But on such a question compromise was impossible; Melancthon, who was always in favour of middle courses wherever feasible, drew up a formula which explained away all natural sense of the words of consecration, and was as unacceptable to convinced Lutherans as the baldest Zwinglian statement. Friedrich, whose leanings had long been in the direction of the Swiss Reformers, was easily drawn away by Melancthon, and although at first he only required tolerance for the Calvinists, it soon became apparent that Catholic institutions were to be proceeded against with far more severity than before, and a much more complete severance brought about than the Lutherans had contemplated.

First of all the festivals of the Saints and of the Blessed Virgin were abolished, then the observance of Christmas, Easter, Ascensiontide, and Whitsuntide were done away; organs and all Latin chants were banished from the churches, and only Psalms and hymns in the vernacular were sung. Fonts, pictures, and statues followed; the Lutheran altar, with its crucifix and candles, was replaced by a plain table covered with a piece of black velvet or cloth, and in the church of the Holy Ghost the beautiful tomb which Otto Heinrich had put up to the memory of his much-loved brother Philip was shrouded in black crape and subsequently destroyed. Wayside crosses were hewn down and chapels demolished, and worship reduced to its baldest elements of praying and preaching.

Friedrich's Lutheran sons-in-law, the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar and Gotha, were much concerned at the line he was taking, a line which made all chance of ultimate peace or toleration so much more remote, and remonstrated with him, as did also the Duke of Wurtemberg. Friedrich professed himself unwilling to break with Lutheranism, and proposed a new signing of the Augsburg Confession,

not much of a palliative, since in Melancthon's hands it could be made to mean anything or nothing. Politically also he allied himself with the extremists, and resisted Ferdinand's strong wish to get Maximilian nominated as his successor. He found himself on this point obliged to yield, and Maximilian was elected King of the Romans in 1562.

Meanwhile his internal reformation went on briskly; such monasteries as had hitherto been spared were now systematically put down; the ancient Abbey of Schönau, older far than the Castle, was destroyed and its great revenues converted to other uses; Frankenthal, Klingenmünster, Sinsheim, and many more, followed suit; indeed, it was computed that in Friedrich's reign not less than forty, on the left bank of the Rhine alone, were sacrificed. The nuns fared no better; Stift Neuburg and many another of a reputation beyond reproach were closed and the nuns driven forth; but to Friedrich's credit it is recorded that he allowed them a maintenance out of their former revenues. These suppressed abbeys and convents were of course a source of great wealth to the government, which it is well to remember when the reforming princes are given credit for munificence in works of piety or admirable finance. As with our own Edward VI., a great deal of undeserved praise is awarded for the setting up of schools, as though there had been none before; the true facts being, first that the spread of the new doctrine caused parents in many cases to withdraw their children from the schools, preferring to let them grow up like little heathen to suffering them to come under the influence of the monks; and secondly, the suppression of the monasteries of necessity suppressed the schools too, so that a generation was growing up in crass ignorance. The desperate condition of matters educational after half a century of Reformation may be gathered from Luther's own letters.* Besides establishing several elementary schools and gymnasia, as well as a college at Selz for the sons of the nobility, Friedrich endowed the Church out of the

* *Renaissance und Humanismus*, Geiger.

wealth of the monasteries, so as to render it independent of the State.

A Church Council of three ecclesiastics and three laymen, sitting in perpetuity, was established to order Church affairs and test candidates for the Pastorate, though these were elected by the congregation. Their methods were not unlike those of the "Triers," who, nearly a century later, exercised similar functions in England under the Commonwealth. They had also the oversight of all educational matters, and made laws for the manners and morals of the laity. Drinking, dancing, dicing were forbidden, fortune-telling also, and even idleness. Much such a strict rule was set up as was done in England by Cromwell, and in America by the Pilgrim Fathers. The Elector Palatine himself and his family set an example of great strictness in life and morals, and his Court in its severe simplicity was a great contrast to the bright and variegated life of the Wittelsbach princes, and no less to the luxury and extravagance of the next century.

Having thus ordered worship and behaviour, the Council proceeded to take doctrine in hand, which had been in a somewhat fluid condition between the Philippists or moderate party, at the head of which was Dr. Erast, and the extreme Zwinglians. The extremists, as usually happens, since they fight the hardest, got the upper hand, and Ursinus and Olevian, strong Calvinists both, drew up the Heidelberg Catechism with its uncompromising teaching on the Holy Sacrament. This became for the Calvinists much the same sort of rallying-point as the Confession of Augsburg had been for the Lutherans, but was far narrower in spirit, aiming at excluding rather than including those who differed. Its description of the Mass as "vermaledeyte Abgötterei" (cursed idolatry) may give some idea from what mint the phraseology of some of our Thirty-nine Articles comes.

The Council also arranged a form of public worship much farther removed from Catholic ceremonial than had been that of Luther adopted by Otto Heinrich; which, while omitting several portions containing specific Catholic

doctrine, had been in the main an adaptation of the Liturgy in the vernacular; the new one contained only a long Bidding Prayer read from the pulpit, and some hymns, besides provision for a lengthy sermon, with certain forms of prayer to be read at the administration of the Holy Supper.* They also issued fresh translations of the Holy Scripture and a metrical version of the Psalms for singing in church. Another of their tasks was the reorganization of the Collegium Sapientiae, which had been undergoing transformation from the time of Friedrich II.; it was now made into a seminary for Calvinist preachers.

Christian of Wurtemberg, in whose dominions Lutheranism had hitherto prevailed, wished to follow the example of the Elector Palatine, and at his suggestion a new conference was summoned to try and adjust points of difference between the two parties; but after a sitting of five days the delegates parted with feelings much embittered.

The free discussions on sacred mysteries such as the Real Presence, and the bandying about of views on the natural or non-natural sense of words, had begot a questioning spirit on other mystical doctrines, and the dogma of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation began to be called in question, especially among the cultivated classes and the University professors, and Unitarian views gained ground in Heidelberg. Several of the lecturers in the Faculty of Medicine were touched by these new principles; Dr. Erast and Dr. Siegmund Melancthon, the nephew of the Reformer, were accused of holding heretical opinions, and when two of the preachers, Neuser and Silvan, were discovered to be not only in correspondence with the strong Unitarian body at Siebenburgen, but even trafficking with the Mahometans and endeavouring to make an alliance with the Sultan Selim, public opinion became aroused and alarmed. The Calvinist claim for liberty of conscience for themselves by no means included the extending of it to other people, and both Neuser and Silvan,

* *The Continental Reformation*, Kidd.

with a number of their followers, were quickly brought to the bar, accused of high treason. Both were convicted of such utterances against the doctrine of the Holy Trinity as under the laws of that time constituted blasphemy, and among their papers was found a letter written by Neuser to the Sultan, denying the Trinity and expressing adherence to the Monotheism of Islam. The trial was long delayed, chiefly owing to the reluctance of the Elector to proceed to extremities. Neuser escaped, repaired to Turkey, and died a Moslem; Silvan was condemned to be beheaded in the market-place, but the sentence was not carried out till December, 1572, after an imprisonment of nearly two years and a half. It is said that by a refinement of cruelty his twelve-year-old son was compelled to witness the execution.* The other pastors attainted of heresy were banished; Erast and Siegmund Melancthon were cleared of all but friendly relations with the Arians, but Erast had to resign his appointment as Court Physician, and both came out of the affair with tarnished reputations.

These severe measures went against the natural mildness of Friedrich, but he was much influenced by the Calvinist preachers, who were alarmed at the rapid growth of heresy, and especially at the attempted alliance with the traditional foe of Christendom, so dreaded in Germany; and the Lutherans were beginning to say that "Calvinism was the first step which led Neuser to the devil." Silvan must have been a man of unstable mind, since he began as a Catholic, became first Lutheran, then Calvinist before he embraced the Arian heresy. Friedrich's characteristic mercifulness relieved itself by supporting the widow and children of the executed Silvan.

On the other hand the Elector Palatine found himself embarrassed by the obstinate Lutheranism of the Upper Palatinate and of the Crown Prince, who was Statthalter there. Ludwig was loyal to the doctrine in which he had been bred, and both he and his wife, a princess of Hesse, were very earnest and devoted Lutherans. Friedrich and

* See folio 225.

his Court Chaplain, Olevian, proceeded to Amberg and tried to set up the Calvinist régime; but the people would neither attend the Reformed worship nor send their children to the Reformed schools, and the Elector was obliged to desist, lest he should risk a rebellion.

His third son, Johann Casimir, was like-minded with himself, and he used to call him "his spiritual armour-bearer." The second, Hermann, a most promising lad who was sent to the Huguenot college at Bourges, was drowned by the capsizing of a boat. Olevian, then a young man of twenty, was with him and risked his own life in the endeavour to save him, and the impression made on his mind was so deep that it turned his thoughts to religion, and gave him the serious bent which made him later one of the most distinguished of the Calvinist preachers of Heidelberg. Christopher, the fourth son, was a very accomplished and chivalrous young prince; he devoted his sword to the cause of Protestantism in the Netherlands, and fell at the battle of Mockerhaide at the early age of twenty-three. He was an admirable classical scholar, educated at Geneva, and young as he was, had been appointed Rector of the Heidelberg University. His death was a terrible blow to his father, and also to the people, with whom he was decidedly more popular than his two serious elder brothers. Another son died in childhood, and there were five daughters.

With them, treated like a daughter of the house, was Charlotte de Bourbon, daughter of the Duc de Montpensier. She had been secretly instructed by her mother, Jacqueline de Longwi, in the Huguenot doctrine, and when sent by her father to the convent of Jouarre, would give but a forced and reluctant compliance. In the wars of religion her convent was broken into by the victorious Huguenots, and she, escaping, fled to Heidelberg and put herself under the protection of the Elector Palatine. In vain her father stormed; the Elector refused to give her up unless on a promise of free exercise of her religion. The Catholic Duke said he would see her dead sooner, so she remained at Heidelberg, sharing in the

lessons and simple pleasures of the young Palatine princesses, and quite happy in the quiet "bürgerliche" life of the German Court, until she fell in love with the much-married William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and became the third wife of four, in spite of the fact that his second wife was still living, and he, like Henry VIII. of England, had to appoint a commission of divines to declare his marriage null at his own bidding, and be free to contract another.*

Friedrich took a sympathetic and practical interest in the struggles of the Huguenots, many of whom had sought a refuge in Heidelberg, which he testified by sending a considerable force to their aid under the command of his favourite son. Casimir gained no small success, and a brief peace ensued during which they enjoyed liberty of worship. On his return from this successful campaign his father received him and conducted him to the church of the Holy Ghost, where a solemn service of thanksgiving was held. At his marriage with Elizabeth of Saxony, when several Protestant princes were assembled together, he endeavoured to induce them to enter into a league on behalf of the persecuted Protestants of France and Holland, but in vain, and shortly the hollow truce which he had secured was broken by the awful massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The line which Friedrich the Pious took in both internal and foreign affairs was seriously embarrassing to the Lutheran princes and also to the Catholic Emperor, Maximilian II., and he was summoned to account at Augsburg. To his credit be it said Maximilian entertained a warm respect for the upright character of the Elector Palatine, and, though he stood accused of troubling the peace of the Church, received him with much kindness, and saved him from threatened deposition, so that he escaped with admonishment. He appeared with his son Johann Casimir in attendance, bearing his Great Bible before him; and on the Word of God he took his stand, declaring boldly that he must speak according to the dictates of

* *Memoirs of the Electress Luise Juliane*, F. E. Bunny.

his conscience. "At least, he is the most pious of us all," averred the Margrave of Baden, in which dictum August of Saxony concurred; and all seemed glad not to proceed to extremities against him, for if he could not convince opponents, his honesty of purpose and simplicity of soul won their respect. Maximilian visited him in the most friendly manner in 1570 at the Castle of Heidelberg, and received from his hands a Spanish translation of the Bible.

At the important Diet of 1575 Friedrich's failing health prevented his being present, and it speaks well for both father and son that the Crown Prince, who had to represent him, faithfully carried out his father's wishes, though his own sympathies on religious questions were so different. Friedrich's especial desires were that tolerance should be secured to the Calvinists in Germany, and that the Empire should interpose to put a stop to the cruel persecutions of Huguenots in France and the Netherlands. In these two requirements Ludwig, who was as mild and merciful as his father, must have fully concurred, though not in any measures to advance the interest of the Reformed to the detriment of the Lutheran section. The split between the two wings of the Protestant body must have been deplored by all sensible men, for out of it the Catholics were gaining no small advantage.

The death of Maximilian preceded that of Friedrich III. by a few weeks only: when the news was brought him he was on his sick-bed suffering from consumption and dropsy. "I too," said he, "have had enough of life, and would gladly say, Lord, now let Thy servant depart in peace, if only I could first speak with the Emperor and with Ludwig, and advise them on the affairs of the Christian Republic." But it was not to be; the Crown Prince evaded the summons to his father's death-bed, arriving only after all was over, fearing either that promises against his own conscience might be exacted from him, which in such a moment would have been hard to refuse, or as some thought, lest he should be required to receive the Last Sacrament according to the Reformed rite. Johann Casimir filled his place, and with him was the little Fritz,

Ludwig's two-year-old son. "Lütz will's nicht thun; mein Fritz aber wird's thun," said the grandfather sadly, laying his hand upon the curly head. His prophecy was fulfilled, for Fritz became the prime mover in the Union of Calvinist Princes.

For a moment the dying man was cheered by good news from the Netherlands, but it was only the flicker of the expiring lamp; in the evening of 26 October, 1576, he "departed softly" after his chaplain had read to him the thirty-first Psalm and the seventeenth chapter of St. John. A good man and a sincere Christian, living up to his convictions faithfully, though it may be they were one-sided. His first wife, Marie of Brandenburg-Baireuth, had died in 1567, after thirty years of happy married life. She was the mother of all his ten children; his second wife, Madame von Brederode, a widow, had no children.

His serious and religious outlook on life was shown in the Rule of Life he drew up for the guidance of his eldest son. "All things come from God; therefore confess thyself a sinner and trust in Christ's Redemption. Avoid haughtiness, preserve thy dignity, love Truth, keep thy promises even at the risk of life and goods. Keep Chastity in word, deed, and thought. Do not seduce the wife or child of another. Be not extravagant, nor yet of a mean spirit; in all honourable things show thyself liberal. Avoid all deceitfulness in business, yet seek to understand the mind and nature of men; towards the kindly show thyself kind. Be merciful to the poor, avoid intercourse with flatterers, blasphemers, or jesters. Love those who would reprove thy faults, protect and reward the faithful servants of the Church. Protect thy subjects with fatherly love, and do not suffer them to be oppressed, for ill-gotten gains will flow away." Precepts, these, worthy to be set beside the Proverbs of Solomon.

He had a cultivated mind and could speak fluently in several languages, and like all his predecessors took a warm interest in education. He established a primary school in every village in his dominions, and under him the old foundations, as the Neckar School in the town and

the Knights' School at Selz, were reorganized. At the latter the sons of the nobility could not only receive a classical education, but such training in knightly exercises and courtly polish as should fit them to fill offices of state. The University began to recover from the shake of the Reformation, and matriculations went up by leaps and bounds. Since it had been completely Calvinized it became the great resort of scholars from France and the Netherlands: the Orange and Nassau princes received their education there. Theological and polemical writers swarmed. Tremellius translated the Syriac New Testament into German, and added a Latin version. This work was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth of England, with whom the relations of the Elector Palatine were uniformly friendly. If Friedrich Calvinized the University, it Arianized itself, and it was probably in consequence of the heretical views prevalent amongst its body that he withdrew the Sapientia from its jurisdiction and placed it in that of the Church Council.

Though a patron of learning, Friedrich the Pious was in some respects narrow-minded; he aimed at a strict simplicity and economy in living and turned his back on the Fine Arts. He was the first for centuries—in fact, he and his son Ludwig were the only ones between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries—who added nothing to the Castle inside or out, and he dismissed his orchestra, so that when marriage feasts and the like required music he was reduced to borrow from his neighbours. On the occasion of his second nuptials the Margrave of Brandenburg lent him his band and two cooks, the resources of the Castle not being equal to providing a banquet.

His one amusement was hunting, but he gave little time to it, occupying himself constantly with the business of his Chancery and writing many letters with his own hand. Not the least among his claims to affectionate remembrance with his people was the care he took to indemnify the peasants for any injury to their crops by his sport. He left behind him a good report as well as a valuable record of prosperity and good government.

III

A LUTHERAN INTERLUDE

WHEN Ludwig VI. came to the throne his first care was to reverse the religious policy which his father had patiently and perseveringly carried out for seventeen years. His very likeness to his father drove him inevitably to such a course: both, though gentle and mild by nature, were constitutionally incapable of seeing two sides to a question, both rooted in their own convictions and too deeply in earnest about their religion to have the easy tolerance of those to whom it is a matter of comparative indifference; neither possessed the large-mindedness and breadth of view of the four last Wittelsbach princes, and their very virtues led them into a policy most disastrous for the Palatinate; for no country can prosper which is subject to continual mutations in religion.

Yet we can hardly blame Ludwig; had he succeeded to Otto Heinrich, or had his life been prolonged till the manhood of his son, the Palatinate would not have been driven into the irreconcilable attitude towards the Empire which was the origin of its worst woes; not impossibly some *modus vivendi*, if not a reunion with the Church, might have come about, for Ludwig, with the older school of Lutherans, was not indisposed to treat with the Church of Rome.* Coming, as his reign did, between the reaction of his father and that of his brother, his work of reconstruction was doomed, and having been judged by results is usually held to have been mischievous for his country. He did not live long enough to consolidate, and therein lay the misfortune. Yet of all three—Ludwig,

* *Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz*, Häusser.

his father, and his brother—we can but say they were honourable, high-minded men, excellently well-intentioned princes, who even in their mistakes deserve the credit of acting according to conscience and duty.

Ludwig was thirty-seven at the time of his accession, and had ruled the Upper Palatinate for over sixteen years, resisting with gentle obstinacy his father's attempts to bring it into line with the Calvinist re-Reformation he was carrying out in the rest of his dominions. He had been educated at the Court of Philibert of Baden, and spent some terms at the French University at Dôle. He had visited Heidelberg in the time of Friedrich's predecessor, Otto Heinrich, and may have admired the wise and tolerant spirit in which that prince was introducing reforms into the Church in the Palatinate. In 1560 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Philip of Hesse, who, like himself, had been educated in Lutheran principles. She was a sincerely religious woman, and seconded him in every way in his effort to preserve the doctrine of Luther both in Amberg and later in Heidelberg. They shared the sorrow of losing several children; only three lived to grow up—Anna Maria, who married Charles IX. of Sweden; Christine, who remained unmarried; and the little Fritz, born in 1574, who was with his uncle at his grandfather's death-bed.

The new Elector Palatine did not arrive in Heidelberg till a fortnight after the death of Friedrich III., and his first act seemed a little wanting in good feeling; he dismissed the Court Chaplain, Olevian, at once, not even suffering him to preach the funeral sermon of his old master, and appointed a Lutheran preacher in his room. That he subsequently condemned Olevian's Catechism and forbade the printers to issue it was justified by his view of its heretical tendency. His next measure was to dissolve the Church Council of three divines and three laymen appointed by Friedrich III., and put Church government into the hands of a Lutheran Synod. The Lutheran Præfecti immediately suspended the Calvinist preachers ("orthodox," as Häusser calls them), and filled

their places with approved Lutheran ministers. The course of procedure seems to have been almost exactly what took place among ourselves at the Restoration, when Cromwell's preachers, many of them unordained men, were ejected and the rightful clergy reinstated, and, as with us, it of course called forth bitter complaint and protest from the ejected and their sympathizers. The Elector's brother Casimir refused to attend the Lutheran worship even at his father's funeral, and joined the Council of State in protesting against Ludwig's measures as contrary to the Will of Friedrich III.

Soon the lofty aisles of the two great churches echoed once more to the strains of the organ, not indeed to the chanting of the Mass, but in Luther's fine Chorales. The mean-looking table was abolished, the Altar reinstated, and above it the sacred symbols, the Crucifix and the tapers, reappeared; the Chalice and the Wafer were once more used, and the Font was replaced instead of the basin used by the Calvinists. Christmas Day was kept, and all the great festivals of the Church observed as of old.

But Ludwig was not happy in Heidelberg; the University was against him, the bulk of the townsfolk were against him. Friedrich the Pious had brought in his changes easily because they were what a large majority of the people were wishing for; but Ludwig had only a small body of sympathizers, the greater part looked upon his work as retrograde, and only wanted to go still further on the road of the Swiss Reformers. He did a very unwise thing, though perhaps a very natural one, in returning to Amberg and making his home there, where he was beloved and felt his people were in sympathy with him. He must have had great confidence in the honourable dealing of his brother Casimir, as he appointed him Administrator in Heidelberg with the assistance of a Council. He also assigned to him part of the Upper Palatinate, containing Neuburg and its forests. This portion had not gone so far in reform as even Amberg; Mass was still celebrated each Sunday, the priests alone communicating; so it seemed rather a strange thing to hand it over to one who

would be likely to root out old customs with so unsparing a hand.

Meantime the reform of the University was being proceeded with. The Calvinist and Arian professors were dismissed not only from the Theological Faculty, but in those of secular subjects, and their places supplied by Lutherans, not always of similar eminence. The distinguished Hugo Donellus, who had come as a refugee from France and had been warmly welcomed by Friedrich the Pious, found his position untenable under the new régime; he resigned and went to Leyden. Caspar Agricola and Nicholas Dobbin remained for a while, but subsequently withdrew. For all professors were required not only to sign the Augsburg Confession, but also to attend the Lutheranized churches, though on the strong representations of Casimir the last requisition was remitted; they were, however, compelled to send their families to the established church, and to suffer their children to be educated in the Lutheran schools on the Lutheran Catechism.

The Collegium Sapientiae, which had undergone fresh transformations in each reign since it had ceased to be a monastery, was once more reorganized; it was still a seminary for preachers, but they were now trained in the Confession of Augsburg instead of the Heidelberg Catechism. For a seat of education to be continually recast in this way was fatal; matriculations once again declined, as the great reputation of the University of late had been amongst the Protestants of Switzerland, France, and the Netherlands: so Casimir, with the aid of several of the dismissed professors, proceeded to set up a rival University in his own little patrimony of Neustatt. The Act of Institution, which was dated from Kaiserslautern, 1578, set forth that a new High School should be established called the Casimirianum, for the education of the people in the true faith. A small building which had belonged to the dispersed community of the White Ladies was adapted, pensions being still paid to the surviving nuns, and the new College was quickly in working order. With

its brilliant array of professors from Heidelberg, among whom were Ursinus, Tossanus, Zanchius, Junius, and others, though Donellus could not be tempted back from Leyden, it soon attracted all the Calvinist youth who found themselves shut out by their views from the Sapientiae and the Knights' School at Selz as well as from the University, and had the order of things been long maintained at Heidelberg it would probably have proved a formidable rival.

In vain Casimir remonstrated with his brother, in vain his father's most trusted advisers, Count von Wittgenstein and the Chancellor Ehem, made representations; they were dismissed, and with quiet determination Ludwig went his own way. It was urged upon him that these divisions and changes injured the peace of the Church, offended the weak, and were a scandal to the world, as well as a cause of rejoicing to the enemy. Petitions poured in, but Ludwig would only answer that he must act according to his conscience, doubtless feeling that it was not he who was to blame for the changes, but his father, who had reversed the Reformation of Otto Heinrich and led the Palatinate aside from the policy of the rest of Protestant Germany.

Johann Casimir now appealed to all the leading Protestant powers to unite in a conference which should be empowered to draw a Form of Concord on which all Protestants might agree, and the acceptance of which should be forced upon all. The basis of this was to be the scheme which Jacob Andrae of Chemnitz had for years been endeavouring to devise in order to make incompatible statements agree and reconcile the irreconcilable. Within the Protestant body were at least three well-marked divisions, not counting the smaller groups who held peculiar views, such as the Hussites or Anabaptists. There were first the orthodox Lutherans, whose opinions on the Sacraments and respect for Holy days and ceremonies were not very unlike those of the moderate High Church party in the Anglican Communion, though on the question of Apostolic Succession and Episcopacy

they were more nearly Congregational, and on predestination, justification by faith, and free-will were much in sympathy with the Evangelicals or Puritans; then there were the Calvinists or Zwinglians, who held the extreme Protestant view of the Sacraments as mere symbols or acts of remembrance, and for whom all outward forms were vain or superstitious. Between these two stood the Philippists, agreeing with the latter in simplicity of worship, and trying by verbal glosses to make the two statements of doctrine mean the same thing; branching out from these latter came the Unitarians, holding the dogmas of the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection of the Body, and the Ascension of our Lord to be not facts but symbols, and whose definite belief did not go beyond acknowledging One God and the Immortality of the soul.

It was manifest that Andrae had set himself a formidable task, and it is not wonderful that his Concordia brought not peace but a sword, for either essential points must be omitted or certain of them must be brought forward which some on their consciences must refuse. In the year of Ludwig's accession the Council at Torgau decreed as the basis of agreement the Three Creeds, the Augsburg Confession with the Catechism of Luther, and the Articles of Schmalkald, but in this each party found a rock of offence: the Lutherans declined Schmalkald, the Calvinists baulked at the Augsburg Confession, while the Unitarians refused the Athanasian Creed. Some of the Powers would agree to one or more points, none to all.

The Simmern and Zweibrücken portions of the Palatinate leaned to Casimir and the Calvinists, and these had the support of Switzerland, Holland, and a considerable part of France, for since the marriage of Henri of Navarre with Marguerite of Valois the Huguenots had the advantage; the Prince de Condé was wholly in sympathy with Casimir, but Henri was of a more tolerant temper, and would be little likely to wish to coerce Ludwig into more extreme paths. From Elizabeth of England Casimir got fair words and diplomatic missions. She sent Sir Philip Sidney with Gabriel Hervey to Heidelberg to express her

friendly sentiments towards both the Elector and the Count Palatine, and Philip's Swiss friend, Hubert Languet, travelled to the Courts of various Lutheran princes to see what mediation would do, but, as Dr. Häusser remarks, " nothing was reaped but fine phrases and costly banquets."

The religious attitude of England was at this time and for long after totally misunderstood in the Palatinate. Elizabeth was compelled to side with the Protestants because her very existence as Queen depended on it, and she was constantly being urged by her advisers to help on a cause for which she personally cared very little. Her own views were more in harmony with those of the moderate Lutherans than with any other of the Continental Reformers; while her political necessities drove her into the quarrels of the Netherlanders, and though not personally ill-disposed to the Catholic Church, she found in the Pope who had deposed her, the Jesuits who sought her life, and Spain, who put forth all its power to compass her overthrow, her bitterest foes. She was as averse to persecution as was the Elector Palatine, but she was wholly lacking in religious enthusiasm, and found that of other people apt to embarrass her plans. Her people, while outwardly conforming to one State Church, were as sharply divided as were the Germans; on the one hand those who believed themselves to form a branch of the Catholic Church, though reformed and denying the supremacy of the Pope, and the Puritan party, growing in numbers and importance, who took their religion from Geneva.

In 1579 Andrae came himself to Heidelberg with his Concordia so modified that Ludwig felt able conscientiously to sign, but the Calvinists now energetically refused it. Casimir would not sign it, neither would Richard of Simmern. The Arianly inclined University professors in the secular Faculties had hitherto been judiciously let alone, but now the Concordia was imposed upon them, and several of the most distinguished, amongst whom was Dr. Erast, resigned sooner than accept it.

Ludwig sent the form to his brother accompanied by a little criticism upon it, which Casimir "laid by unread," as did also Johann of Zweibrücken. Casimir pleaded for the same amount of toleration for Calvinists as for Catholics, which indeed they had hitherto enjoyed; but the acceptance of the Concordia forced upon Ludwig measures to compel uniformity to which he would not have been personally inclined. So liberal had been his spirit towards the Catholics that he had allowed to the Franciscans the partial use of the church of the Holy Ghost, a bitter offence to the Calvinists.

After the death of his wife in 1582 Ludwig gradually let drop some of the more energetic requirements of the Concordia, and matters between him and his brother became more harmonious. For Elizabeth, a pious soul, had held strong dogmatic views and was very anxious to enforce conformity. The threatened Catholic reaction, moreover, drove him into closer union with the Calvinists, though his policy had always hitherto been to support the Emperor, but he realized that the only hope of the Protestants lay in their holding together.

His internal administration was extremely regular and orderly, his police regulations rivalling those of his predecessor for strictness, for he forbade all extravagance in feasting, and put down Christmas Mummers "and all such heathen practices," though himself fond of plays and allowing Scriptural Comedies such as that of *Tobias*, written by a stonemason, Thomas Schmidt, to be acted before him by the students. His own expenditure was very moderate, the style of living at his Court of the simplest.

The last year of his reign was troubled by disturbances in Cologne; the Archbishop Gebhardt Truchsess had been for some time inclined to favour the Reformed Doctrine, but was driven to take it up in earnest by a scandalously unworthy motive. The beautiful Countess Agnes von Mansfeld had lived with him as his mistress, and her brother, discovering the connection, forced upon him the necessity of marrying her; finding himself compelled to

choose between his bishopric and his love, it occurred to him that if he could not only turn Protestant himself, but bring the Reformation into his diocese, he might secure both.* A large section of the inhabitants had already embraced Protestantism, and his predecessor had made some attempt to introduce reforms some years before. Being one of the Episcopal Electors, his position was a very important one, and on his being attainted of heresy a new bishop was appointed, and the Emperor threatened to send an army under Alexander of Parma to enforce his deposition. The matter was one which affected Ludwig VI. nearly, and he endeavoured to mediate; a Protestant Bishop of Cologne would be a useful neighbour and a great support in the Electoral College; at the same time he was not disposed to flout the Emperor, whatever he might have done as regards the Pope, and the question was complicated by the leanings of the Archbishop towards the Calvinists, in whom he expected to find the strongest support. Ludwig was by no means prepared to draw the sword on his behalf, but Casimir rushed into the quarrel and marched with an armed force to Bonn. Henri of Navarre took up the cause, and had it not been for the want of union between the two Protestant sections, Gebhardt might have become formidable, but betwixt his allies he fell to the ground, was deposed, and obliged to relinquish his claim.

Casimir's expedition was quite fruitless, and he was recalled from it by the death of his brother, which placed the affairs of the Palatinate in his hands for some time, Ludwig's only son being but a boy of eight. Ludwig was consumptive and had been in failing health for some time; he was but forty-four when he died of an abscess on the lung, 12 October, 1583. The second marriage which he had contracted for the sake of a Lutheran alliance, with Anna of East Friesland, a grand-daughter of Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, lasted only a few months, and Anna soon married again, the Margrave of Baden-Durlach becoming her second husband.

* *Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz*, Dr. Häusser.

Religion was the chief preoccupation of Ludwig's life, as was shown in his private diary, in which, among careful entries of business matters, stand passages from the Bible and pious meditations. Most of the books which he bequeathed to the Library were on Theology, the works of Luther and kindred writers, and some of Luther's fine renderings of the Scriptures, including the Apocrypha. He had no time to add anything to the Castle, nor did his tastes lead him in that direction. " All things are passing away " was his chosen motto, and he would have held it a vanity to build for beauty or magnificence.

Unhappily his special work passed away and was speedily wiped out, for he only lived long enough to destroy, not to build up.

IV

THE RETURN OF CALVINISM

IN spite of theological differences the two brothers were warmly attached, and Ludwig gave proof of his confidence in Casimir by appointing him guardian of his little son and Administrator of the Palatinate, with a Lutheran Council of Advisers. *Constanter et sincere* was Casimir's motto: steadfast to his own convictions at least he showed himself, whether or no he may be judged loyal to the trust reposed in him; for he swept away Ludwig's carefully drawn up plans like waste-paper, and proceeded forthwith to reorganize the government on his own lines. Perhaps he justified his action on the ground that if he were not carrying out the wishes of his dead brother, he was fulfilling those of his father, who had been like-minded with himself.

He was just forty when he found himself at the head of affairs in the Palatinate. His portrait shows a strong, vigorous-looking man with a lofty, narrow forehead and high cheekbones, indicating some obstinacy, an aquiline nose, eyes clear and rather prominent, the mouth shutting tight beneath a heavy moustache cut in the Elizabethan style, his figure tall and rather portly; a comely person, as were all the Counts Palatine for many generations. At nine years old he had been sent, according to the custom of his house, as page to the French Court that he might obtain the training in knightly manners considered so essential for a prince. He was a bright, lively boy, a great favourite with his grandfather of Brandenburg, and he threw himself with zest into all the amusements of that gay Court when Catherine de Medici was Queen, and

the little Scottish Dauphiness, Mary Stuart, was being bred up with the French princesses in all the culture and refinement of the Renaissance. She was about the same age as the little Count Palatine, and one wonders whether the children were friends. But with Casimir's return to Heidelberg on his father's accession his whole outlook on life was suddenly changed; under Friedrich's influence, perhaps under that of Melancthon also, the gay young courtier became the earnest and devout Christian, acknowledged by friends and foes as the champion of the Calvinist cause, and named by Friedrich his "spiritual armour-bearer." His connection with France henceforth was as a partisan of the Huguenots and warm personal friend of their leader the Prince de Condé. His expedition to their aid in 1575 has already been mentioned. Under the terms of the abortive treaty which followed he was to have been made Governor of Burgundy, but this was never fulfilled. He had also joined with his brother Christopher in giving material assistance to the Netherlanders in their struggle for religious liberty.

His appanage of Lautern had been increased by Friedrich III. settling upon him Neustatt and Böckelheim, in order that the Walloon colonies which had migrated thither should be protected from interference or coercion, which Friedrich saw might become likely under his Lutheran successor. These colonies were really a source of wealth, for they were formed of some of the most industrious classes, chiefly wool-carders and silk-weavers, who had been driven from their homes by the persecutions under Philip II., and having first sought a refuge in Augsburg, were driven forth once more by the obligation of signing the Confession, and found an asylum in the Palatinate under the Calvinist Friedrich III. There was a large settlement of them at Frankenthal and another at Mannheim, and by their peaceable disposition and industry in their trade they merited protection. During Ludwig's reign Casimir's patrimony had become a refuge for the disturbed Calvinists of Heidelberg also. At the Casimirianum a printing press was set up, and it was becoming

quite a centre of literary activity for the party. It was visited by the Protestant representatives, English and others, who assembled for the conference on the Concordia.

Casimir valued English friendship very highly, and had always been on excellent terms with Elizabeth, so when some little trouble arose in the Netherlands, his troops having got somewhat out of hand, and a fear taking shape that a "Protestant Terror" was about to be set up, Elizabeth sent him a sharp reprimand; he repaired to London to plead his own cause. He had not much difficulty in putting himself right with the Queen; Elizabeth always liked him; she appreciated a strong man, and she testified her entire reconciliation by bestowing on him the Order of the Garter.

So soon as his appointment as Administrator put power into his hands he proceeded to exercise it, as his three predecessors had done, by reversing whatever had been enacted in the late reign. Church, University, Schools for the people were all immediately transformed, the Lutheran Councillors appointed by the Will of Ludwig were summarily dismissed in spite of their loud and indignant protests, and Casimir assumed the whole government exactly as though he had succeeded in his own right. What gave him strength and confidence, and emboldened him to defy protest, was the knowledge that he had the people with him; the late changes had been submitted to with sullen murmurs, these were hailed as a restoration of what they valued. The Reformed preachers whom Ludwig had banished were reinstated, the Lutherans dispossessed; with them the altars and fonts, the crucifixes and candles disappeared, Christmas and Easter were ignored or remembered only as popular feasts to be kept in private houses; once more the pulpit was all, the altar nothing. Dr. Häusser naively remarks that had the Lutheran preachers refrained from attacking the administration they might have been tolerated, but they very naturally took their stand upon the Will of the late Elector, and loudly protested that their rights were violated by one who had only the temporary power of a

regent. Casimir's uncle, Richard of Simmern, remonstrated, but in vain. He was one of those who tried to steer a middle course between Lutheranism and Calvinism, consequently neither side paid much heed to him. An eight days' disputation was held, in which the Lutherans rather damaged their own cause by their vehemence, and, secure in the support of the town, the Administrator went his own way undismayed.

The University was, of course, once more taken in hand, and its professors summoned back from the Casimirianum, which was transformed into a higher order of school called a "Gymnasium illustré." The Neckar School was also reconstituted, and so was the Collegium Sapientiae, which had already undergone five changes, counting its Lutheran completion, under Otto Heinrich. Not all the professors could be recalled; some of the most distinguished had accepted posts elsewhere; neither Hugo Donellus, who was settled at Leyden, nor Grynæus, who had become History Lecturer at Basel, cared to resign their new appointments and accept the invitation of the Administrator to return. Nicholas Dobbin, however, with Zanchius, Junius, and the rest who had gone to Neustatt, came back, and the numbers of matriculations from abroad went up again. New buildings were erected close to the site of the present ones: the Library continued to flourish, and during this reign profited by the handsome bequest of Ulrich Fugger.

The most important change of all which Casimir made, and the one which had the deepest influence on the future, was in the education of his little nephew. Both Ludwig and his wife had been decidedly Puritanical in their ideas of the bringing up of a child, and at four years old the little boy had been entrusted to the charge of two eminent Lutheran professors, Pancratius and Struppius, to be instructed in the principles of the Augsburg Confession and the Catechism of Luther. Pancratius had been tutor to his mother, and afterwards Court Physician at Darmstadt, and in 1578 was summoned to Heidelberg to take the oversight of the Prince's education as well as that of

his health, to see that he was trained " in the fear of God and in the habit of prayer, accustomed to the Catechism, and brought up in all modesty and princely virtues." He was also to be made an adherent of the Concordia: Struppius was too much taken up with his literary preoccupations to have much time to give to personal supervision of the Prince, for he was writing two books on medicine, one for travellers, and a botany or garden book. In the days when herbalist lore was so necessary for the physician, the study of gardening and medicine often went together, as we see in England later in Parkinson the royal gardener, who was also a member of the College of Surgeons. Like the other gardener of King Charles, the Italian Tradescant, Struppius was also a collector of antiquities and coins, and had the oversight of the Electoral museums.

Good conduct was made a great point; the little pupil was to be earnestly warned against blasphemy, all immodest words or gestures and naughty behaviour, and carefully trained in good manners, ceremonies, and the bearing of a young gentleman. Four hours' lessons a day were not considered too much for this child of five, and he was to be taught Latin and religion, especially the Catechism, and made to hear sermons. For the actual instruction he had a preceptor, Leonard Pistor, and two little boys of noble birth were appointed for his playfellows and to study with him that he might not miss the spur of emulation.

When he was eight his guardians were superseded by a council who put forth a scheme of education which is an interesting document, showing the views both of the time and of the school of thought. First the young prince must learn to know the will of God and for what purpose he was created. That is the foundation. And next he is to study many languages, less for the sake of humanistic culture than for their practical utility, since princes have to converse and negotiate with many of various nations. Thirdly he must learn music, arithmetic, physics, geometry and astronomy, and have some knowledge of law.

History he was to make himself acquainted with in order to draw ethical and political examples or warnings from it. He was to be early trained in modesty and humility, patience and chastity, and taught not to exalt himself on account of his station.*

All very good if a little too ideal, and somewhat more practical were the views of the son of the celebrated Humanist, Micyllus, whom Ludwig also called upon for an opinion. He had the good sense to urge that the child should not be overpressed with work, though he would have him study the classics and "imbibe the free spirit of antiquity." He suggested that in order to learn manly virtues he should not be left too long in the care of women. He even pointed out that continual and lengthy Bible reading could not but have an undesirable effect on a boy of eight. We do not learn whether his suggestions were acted upon.

His tutor considering it better that the child should be removed from the Court, a small Court of his own was established in the house of Hans Christopher von Venningen, who was appointed his chamberlain. Every hour and moment of his time was carefully mapped out: not only his lessons, his prayers, his two sermons a Sunday, and his lengthy hours of saying his Catechism, but even his playtime was not his own to do as he liked. On Monday he played draughts, on Tuesday Fox and Geese, Wednesday he had music, Thursday shooting with the cross-bow, on Friday he painted, and on Saturday and Sunday no play was allowed, but he said his multiplication table and sang Spiritual Psalms. His sister Christine, who was a year older, was brought up on much the same principles; as much Bible reading and Catechism was prescribed for her as for her brother; she also had to learn Latin, and besides was to be well practised in sewing, spinning, knitting, and all womanly accomplishments.

On the death of their parents the children passed into the guardianhsip of their uncle the Administrator, and he, Calvinist though he was, was a sensible man with a more

* *Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz*, Dr. Häusser.

practical idea of the capacities of children. For a time he retained the tutors their father had appointed, but by his orders the burden of lessons was diminished and the freedom of play hours greatly increased. Naturally the spirits of the boy rose, and his preceptors complained that he had grown overbold and was saucy even to his uncle; but to the solemn complaints they laid before him the Regent answered that he was not educating a Doctor of Theology but a future ruler, and after a time, when Lutheranism was being banished from the Palatinate, the tutors were dismissed and their places supplied by others more in accordance with Casimir's own principles.

If we blame him for so completely overriding the wishes of the boy's father, it is fair to remember that he had seen so much mischief and disorder come of the alternations of religious rule in the late reigns that he naturally was most anxious to secure that all his own work should not be undone by his successor, and that he could only do by educating him in his own convictions, and he was quite as conscientious and true to his own faith as his brother had been to his. We, looking back over the things that happened, can see that the obstinate adherence to Calvinism brought irretrievable woe not to the Palatinate only, but to all Germany, for though it was the action of the Elector Palatine that precipitated the Thirty Years War, the whole Empire was drawn into the tragedy; but the men of that day, with short-sighted vision, saw only that their own conception of religion seemed the purest, and sought each in his turn to force its acceptance on his own dominions and on all with whom he had influence.

At least, whether by calculated policy or no, Casimir's freer bringing up of the young Elector had the result of warmly attaching him to himself, so that the accusations of cruelty which the dismissed Lutheran tutors tried to trump up were easily brushed aside as absurd; the boy was well and happy, and had Casimir been like the wicked uncle of the old fairy tales, Fritz would not have turned to him with such frank affection. Great-uncle Richard of Simmern might protest against the changes in religion,

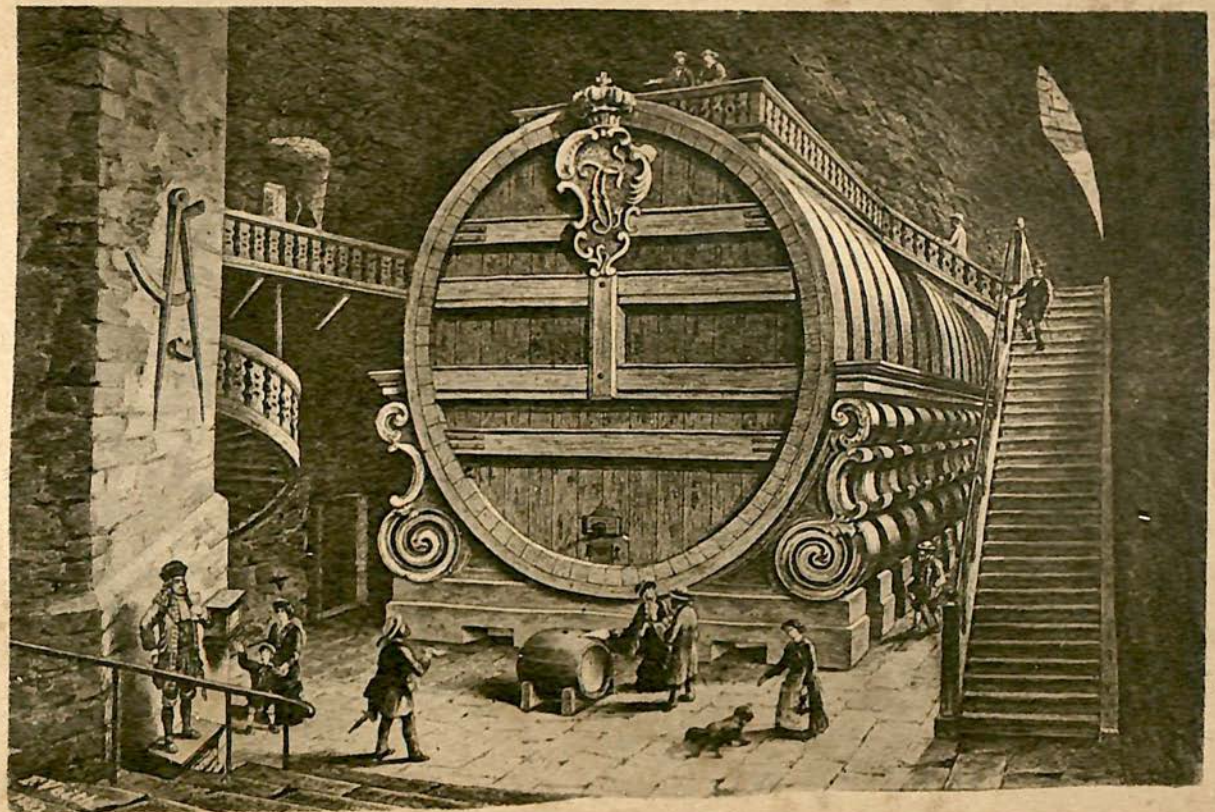
and against much injustice suffered by the Lutherans, but he had no valid excuse to deprive Casimir of the guardianship of the children. Perhaps in some respects Fritz did enjoy too much liberty after the strictness of his infancy, and something of discipline and self-control was lacking; for all his life he was prone to the vice of drinking, so terribly prevalent in that wine-growing country in the sixteenth century, a vice which marred the otherwise fine character which rendered him one of the most popular and affectionately remembered of the Counts Palatine, but of which he had the grace to be ashamed, and against which he struggled, as many passages in his private diary testify.

It is a somewhat significant fact that Dr. Häusser, so enthusiastic a panegyrist of Johann Casimir, passes over in dead silence his one addition to the Castle, namely the Great Tun, more visited and talked about by the average tourist than any of the architectural glories of the ruins. He resolved " to make a mighty cask, such as there was none other on earth " for the fruit of the vine in which the Rhine and Neckar valleys abounded, and a great building to contain it. To give room for this he cut through the northern wall, and it was long believed trenched upon the once consecrated ground of the chapel of St. Udalrich, built by Ruprecht I.; this, however, is doubted by modern antiquaries. If it were so, it were a somewhat sinister comment on the religious principles he brought in. His Great Tun contained over a hundred and thirty-two tons, that is a hundred and thirty-two thousand wine bottles of litre measure, a litre being a quart and one-tenth, English measure. This was destroyed in the Thirty Years War, and Karl Ludwig built it up again larger to contain two hundred and four thousand litres. Spared by the French soldiers in the Orleans War, it remained forty years empty, and being found much decayed, was repaired and adorned by Karl Philip. The last and largest was made by Karl Theodor in 1751, and was computed by some to contain two hundred and thirty-six thousand litres,* but other authorities reckon its capacity

* *Führer für Fremde*, Dr. Leger.

THE GREAT TUN.

Old Print.



at two hundred and twenty-one thousand. This was used at the Quincentenary of the University in 1886.

The building adjoined the great cellars underneath the women's quarters, and opened into the chief buttery. The room above it is in the Gothic style, and has a roof of beautiful star vaulting springing from a central pillar; this, with the graceful tracery and stained glass of its large windows, gives it an ecclesiastical appearance, and may have given rise to the tradition of its having once been the chapel. From the terrace below the supports of a balcony can be seen, and the remains of a fountain in the shape of a lion's mask; both very desirable means of cooling heads heated by the contents of the huge wine-cask.

The political situation took on important modifications during the administration of Casimir. The accession of Rudolf II. seemed to promise a serious Catholic reaction, and moreover the Calvinist policy, shaped in Geneva, was far more anti-monarchical than that of the Lutherans, therefore the more it gained ground the less hope there was of living peaceably under the imperial rule. The Holy League in which Spain, the Papacy, and the Emperor were united, had obtained from Henri III. of France the Tractate of Nemours, whereby all the hardly won immunities of the Huguenots were annihilated. They had been accustomed to regard the Administrator as their champion; he had fought for them twice already, and they appealed to him, as well as to Elizabeth of England, and both endeavoured to form a league of Protestants, a thing which did not come to pass till later, the jealousies between the two branches were so keen and hard to overcome. Yet it seemed, unless they could speedily agree to act together, the Catholic Powers would destroy them in detail.

A deputation was sent from several of the German princes to remonstrate with the French King. At the head of it was Friedrich of Wurtemberg, Count of Mompelgard, who is supposed to be the original of the German "Garmombles" of *The Merry Wives of Windsor;* he had on two occasions spent some time in England, and left a very

amusing diary of all he saw and did there.* The Palatinate was represented by Hilmar Von Helmstadt. The King of France received them with so much rudeness that they left St. Germains the next day. Negotiations were fruitless, but Casimir felt he could not desert his ancient allies, so with the assistance of the Landgrave of Hesse he collected an army of fifteen thousand men under the command of Count Fabian von Dohna. Had Casimir been able to lead them himself as heretofore the result might have been different, but von Dohna was not equal to encountering the Duc de Guise, and a severe defeat sent him back to Germany. In Henri of Navarre the Huguenots found a better support, and in 1591 the Palatinate joined with Saxony in sending a considerable force to fight under him.

The Lutheran Elector of Saxony had been succeeded by a Calvinist, brother-in-law and dearest friend of Casimir, and this would have been a great accession of strength to the cause, but in the autumn of the same year he died, his loss crippling the movement in France and weakening the prospect of an effective Protestant alliance. To the Administrator his death was both a deep personal grief and the frustration of cherished plans, and in the following January, 1592, he too laid down his unfinished work in the fiftieth year of his age.

In his internal administration he had accomplished much that was of value; for the protection of the frontier he had established a system of militia; for defence against the more insidious foe of famine he set up what he called a Nothspeicher (Storehouse of Need), to furnish which he imposed a legacy duty and certain other taxes. This most useful measure was re-established by Karl Ludwig after the Peace of Westphalia. He also carried out a scheme of Friedrich the Pious for converting the convent at Handschuhsheim into an orphanage. A respectable man was placed at the head, called the Father of the Children, and an elderly widow was appointed to nurse the infants and see to the clothing and feeding of the

* *England as seen by Foreigners*, Rye.

children; the boys were brought up to useful trades and apprenticed when old enough; the girls were trained in domestic duties, and received a dowry on their marriage. Casimir's piety was as great as that of his two predecessors, and he ordained a monthly Day of Intercession throughout his dominions.

His death came too soon for the realization of his hope, fulfilled not long after, of seeing a strong Protestant alliance established with his young ward at its head; and another cherished plan, that for his nephew's marriage, was not consummated till after his death. It was a marriage after his own heart; not only would the political alliance with the House of Orange satisfy his ambition, but the chosen bride, Luise Juliane, was the daughter of William the Silent, the hero of his youth, and of Charlotte de Bourbon, his early friend and the companion of his sisters, of whom his father had been so fond, and who is described as so full of sweetness and charm that she quite won over her husband's relations who had been averse to his marrying. Moreover, she had come to Heidelberg in a halo of romance, and one cannot but speculate, had Casimir not already been contracted to Elizabeth of Saxony, whether he might not have appealed to her girlish enthusiasm as much as the other hero of Calvinism to whom she gave her hand. Doubtless her daughter would have special claims on Casimir's affection.

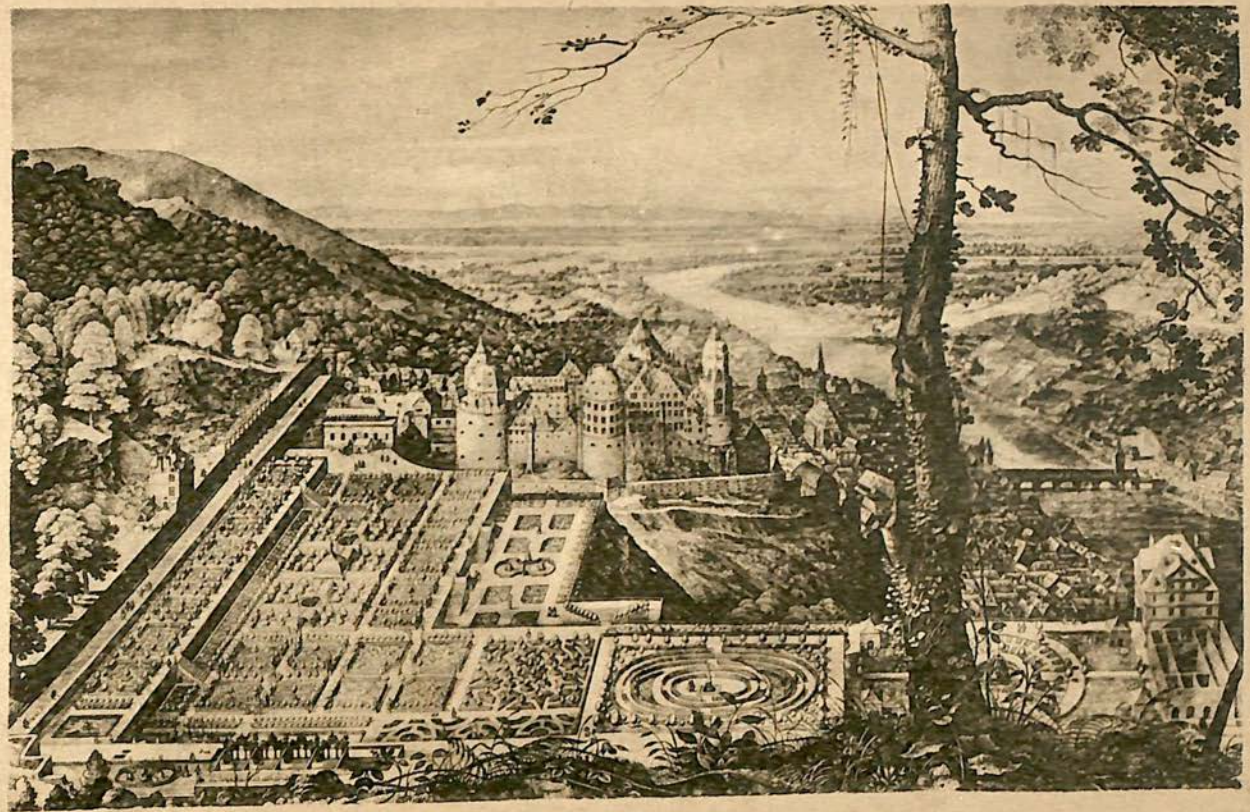
Be this as it may, he had not been very happy with Elizabeth; letters of his indicate difficulties of temper and "bad turns" that she did him. She was, however, like-minded in piety, and a book of private devotions of hers is preserved in the University Library. He left no son, only a daughter Dorothea, who married Johann Georg of Dessau. His nephew was more than a son to him, and was able to carry out his dearest plans. To him he bequeathed not only his upright character and devotion to the Protestant cause, but also his furious antipathy to priests, Guises, and "Jesuwider" (against Jesus), as he called the Jesuits, for he was a good hater.

BOOK V

THE ZENITH

THE HORTUS PALATINUS

Print after Merian.



I

A HALCYON REIGN

THE closing years of the sixteenth and opening of the seventeenth century saw the Palatinate at the height of its power and prosperity. The religious strife of the last half-century between the two Protestant Confessions, with its incessant alternations and reversals of supremacy, was at an end, and Calvinism not only acknowledged as the State religion, but firmly established in its dominant position; under the strong and wise administration of a long succession of capable rulers, justice and order, peace and a sound financial position had been secured. Industry flourished, stimulated by the influx of Walloon manufacturers, education had been cared for and rescued from the disorder into which the Reformation had at first thrown it, and the land, which was so fertile it only needed peace to yield rich harvests of corn and wine, was blossoming like the rose.

For nearly three-quarters of a century the Neckar valley had been secure from foreign foes, and the forces of the Palatinate had only been called upon to take part in campaigns in other countries on behalf of their persecuted fellow-Protestants. Ever since the Peasant War their own land had been at peace; prosperity had brooded over Trade and Art, and the Castle, with the lordly additions of Otto Heinrich and Friedrich II., seemed as if it could hardly need the two magnificent buildings which were yet to be added. As the young Elector Friedrich IV. stood upon the southern terrace and looked down the beautiful river valley to his broad lands on the Rhine, he might well have said, "Soul, thou hast much goods laid

up for many years; take thine ease; eat, drink, and be merry."

He wanted only six weeks of completing his eighteenth year when the death of his uncle the Administrator placed the reins of government in his hands, and eighteen was the age prescribed by the Golden Bull as the majority of the Elector. It was therefore a great surprise to him when his great-uncle, Richard of Simmern, who had been bidden to the funeral, appeared at the head of a considerable body of knights, and said significantly that he had come on affairs more weighty than the obsequies of his nephew. No sooner was Johann Casimir laid in the earth than Count Richard claimed the regency and the guardianship of the heir. Friedrich urged that in six weeks he should be of age, and he could hardly expect any great accession of wisdom and capacity in the interval. The old man persisted, less from personal ambition than because he thought to reverse once more what Casimir had done, and re-establish Lutheran worship in the Palatinate. Very little, it is true, could he have effected in six weeks, but he took his stand on some obsolete and never-confirmed order of the Emperor Siegmund, prolonging the minority of the heir to his five-and-twentieth year. Richard appealed to the Emperor, reckoning on Rudolf's reluctance to give Calvinism a firm hold in Germany, and several of the Lutheran princes endeavoured to induce Friedrich to adhere to the religion of his father, so as to give less excuse for interference. But the pupil of Johann Casimir was not to be shaken in his allegiance; he declared he drew his religion from the Word of God, and from no Catechism either of Heidelberg or of Luther; and much as he honoured the virtues of his own father, he must obey the will of his Heavenly Father and maintain the Truth (as he held it) in his dominions.

This bold attitude did him no harm; Richard was entirely without allies, while the young Elector Palatine was backed by England, Holland, and France. Before negotiations were concluded he came of age, and the Emperor finding no excuse for setting aside the Golden Bull, the

investiture took place at Ratisbon on 12 August, 1594. Some little trouble arose with the Ambergers, still as always obstinately Lutheran, but a firm hand soon put down all opposition.

In June of the same year the young Elector travelled to Dillenburg to receive the hand of his promised bride, Luise Juliane of Orange, who, now an orphan, had come to the castle of her uncle John of Nassau for her wedding. It was a marriage of great political importance as well as one of affection, for Juliane, besides belonging to the great Protestant House of Orange, was a protégée of the old Queen of England, to whom she wrote a very pretty little letter on the occasion ; her sister, moreover, was the wife of the Huguenot Duke of Bouillon, and the alliance bade fair to unite the Calvinists in a strong phalanx.*

After a few days of festivity and the ceremonious signing of marriage articles, Friedrich brought his bride home. They travelled along the Bergstrasse, from whence, as the cortège turned the corner of the hill behind Neuenheim, the most exquisite view of her future home burst upon the eyes of the bride, accustomed hitherto to the flat plains of Holland. A more striking one could scarcely be seen, for in the days of its glory Heidelberg was reckoned the second finest castle in Europe, and its position above the river against the wooded hills is of an ideal beauty.

Very soon after his marriage the twenty-year-old bridegroom turned his thoughts earnestly to public affairs, and carrying out the wish of his uncle tried to see if, backed by his strong alliances, he could not bring the Protestant princes of Germany into line, and place himself at the head of a Union which should stem the power of the League, for, encouraged by their divisions, the Jesuits were not without hope of winning the Lutherans back into the Catholic fold.† With youthful self-confidence Friedrich summoned a meeting at Heilbronn, and though for that time attempts at an understanding were shattered

* *Memoirs of Luise Juliane, Electress Palatine*, by F. Bunny.

† *Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz*, Dr. Häusser.

by obstinate prejudice on one side or the other, still it was the germ from which the future Union grew.

In his own dominions Friedrich reaffirmed all the acts of his grandfather, Friedrich III., established the Church Conventions and Synods which he had set up, and reissued the Shorter Catechism of Heidelberg.* Quarrels between the preachers were unabated, but Calvinism was secure in its dominant position. The new Elector was a true follower of his House in his interest both in education and in building. Under him the University increased greatly in the number of matriculations, for he took the wise course of appointing the most distinguished men he could find to fill its Chairs. Marquard Freher was one of the professors, a man of very brilliant attainments, devoted to historical research and engaged on the *Origines Palatinae.* Friedrich established a Chair of History and also one of Arabic, which was filled by the famous Oriental scholar Jacob Christmann. It was a time of great prosperity for the Library also; the *Manesische Handschrift* was the gift of Friedrich IV., and the celebrated Gruterus was appointed Librarian, with Sylberg and Paul Melissus as his assistants.

The internal administration was very good; but here Friedrich had little to do but to carry on the system of his uncle, who was so capable a ruler. He was himself, however, very diligent in his attention to business; his diary, with its brief and meagre entries, frequently records, "the whole day at the Council"; indeed, his usual practice was to go straight from early morning prayers either to the Council Board or to the sittings of the Church Synod, in the deliberations of which he liked to take an active participation. He was fortunate in his Councillors, and wise in retaining those trained under the Administrator and possessing his confidence. His own chief adviser in external policy was Christian of Anhalt, whom he called his right hand; and in matters educational, as well as those of taste, he relied on Marquard Freher.

Foreign politics were his great preoccupation; he never

* Alting.

lost sight of his darling wish to establish an Evangelical Union, with himself at its head, to resist the Catholic reaction, which, under Rudolf II., supported by the Duke of Bavaria, was assuming menacing proportions. At last, at the Convention of Friedburg, July, 1599, he succeeded in uniting with himself in a league for mutual defence the Margraves of Brandenburg and Baden, the Duke of Wurtemberg, and the Count Palatine of Neuburg, his cousin. Outside support was not lacking; his wife's family, the Orange and Nassau princes, were entirely with him, and the English policy had long been to support him, a policy which remained unchanged, though less effective, on the death of Elizabeth and accession of James I. The great Henri IV. of France urged strongly upon the Protestant princes the necessity of combining and presenting a united front, and his murder ten years later by the hand of an assassin was almost as serious a blow to the cause as had been that of Friedrich's father-in-law, William the Silent.

The need for sinking differences and joining hands was becoming more pressing; strife was evidently not far off; a riotous assembly at Donauwerth had been made the occasion of the town being seized by the Catholic Duke of Bavaria, and shortly after the trouble over the Jülich succession arose. The Duke of Jülich and Cleves dying without heirs, his dukedom was claimed by no less than eight persons, among whom the nearest of kin were the Count Palatine of Neuburg and the Elector of Brandenburg. The Emperor protested against the claim of the Count Palatine, and sent the Archduke Leopold to take possession; Palatinate troops under Christian of Anhalt were marched to its succour, and it seemed as though war were inevitable, but such was the weakness of the two contending parties that it fizzled out without an effective blow being struck on either side. It was, however, growing more and more manifest that a death struggle between Catholics and Protestants could not be long averted.

Inherited policy and youthful self-confidence rather than statesmanlike capacity placed the young Friedrich

at the head of affairs; he was not wanting in brains nor in energy, but he had not the gifts which might have made him a great leader, able to seize opportunity and turn the tide in weighty matters. What he could he did; he gathered the Protestant princes to a conference in Heidelberg in the ever-renewed attempt to agree upon a policy, and he kept in continual correspondence with his allies of England and France, though the French king took offence at finding the Huguenot Duke of Bouillon, who was in ill-odour with him, so well received at Heidelberg, as a close friend as well as a family connection of the Elector Palatine.

The prosperity which had attended the opening of Friedrich's reign was broken in 1596 by a severe outbreak of the plague, which drove the Court to Amberg, where on 16 April his second child, a son, was born, who was known to history as the Winter King, and with whom the star of Heidelberg set. Great were the jubilations, and no cloud of apprehension shadowed the delight of the father or of the people at the birth of the heir.

All Friedrich's endeavours to bring the Upper Palatinate into line with the rest of his dominions, either on the religious question or on that of their ancient and peculiar liberties, were frustrated by the obstinate adherence of the inhabitants to old customs, and that outlying portion seems to have been in somewhat the same relation to the larger country as Scotland to ourselves, only the religious difference was reversed; it was the little mountainous country that clung to High Lutheranism, while the rest of the Palatinate followed Calvin.

Friedrich's diary, bald as it is, furnishes a good idea of his daily life, with its round of religious observance, business, and pleasure, and a very interesting picture of the Court at Heidelberg is to be found in the description of the visit of one Agathos, who was travelling to report on the state of religion in Calvinist countries. He says:—

"After morning prayer and reading a chapter in the Bible, the Elector generally goes to Council, and remains there till the midday meal, administering justice with

piety, equity, and discretion. The Court, or rather the Prince's household, is a good example of a modest and retired life; and this is not to be wondered at, because nothing can be more chaste, moderate, and disciplined than the young Elector himself, if he be compared with others."* Much of this sobriety and refinement, not too common in minor German Courts at this date, was doubtless due to the influence of the Elector's gentle and deeply religious wife, to whom he was very warmly attached. Juliane was devoted to him, and the chief trouble of her life was his occasional lapse into his bad habit; apparently during the visit of Agathos he had exercised some self-control. Every now and again appears the entry in his diary, " bin ich fol gewesen," and when that was the case Juliane grieved in silence. Sorrow did not spare her nursery: she lost three out of the eight children she bore him; a little boy and two little girls died in early childhood, but five grew up—Friedrich, his father's namesake and successor; Ludwig Philip, who inherited the Lautern property; and three daughters, two of whom married; while the youngest, Catherine, remained to be her mother's companion and comfort in the dark days that were coming.

From the diary we learn that Juliane shared all her husband's amusements, rode with him through the woods, hunting the stag and wild boar, which in those days roamed free through the Odenwald, and fished with him in the Wolfsbrunnen, where, beside the spring by which in ancient days Jetta met her terrible fate, a little hunting lodge had been erected and a small garden laid out in terraces in the style of the Hortus Palatinus in miniature. Where the stream bubbled up a fountain was made, and the water flowed through the mouth of a bronze wolf in memory of the tragedy of Jetta. Juliane, who delighted in a simple country life, spent much of her time here with her children, and long after it was a favourite haunt of her son Friedrich and his beautiful Elizabeth.

* Quoted by Miss Bunny in *Memoir of Luise Juliane, Electress Palatine.*

Friedrich IV. had all his ancestors' love of building; not even yet was his splendid castle quite all he would have it; the ancient chapel did not please him, perchance its Catholic memories affronted him; he must pull it down and erect in its place another chapel with a dwelling over it, which should rival Otto Heinrich's noble pile. So very early in his reign the old chapel of Ruprecht was demolished, and while the courtyard was filled with dust and the noise of the chisel he took his wife and children to Alzei, though we may be sure that he himself was continually to and fro, overlooking the work and taking counsel with Freher on its adornments. The great Kaiser Saal was given up to the masons, and since it was winter when the work began it was heated with huge stoves to thaw the frozen blocks of sandstone. The first stone was laid with great ceremony on 3 August, 1601.

Although this portion has suffered less from siege than the rest of the castle, and has been restored and roofed in, it fails to give the eye the satisfaction of the beautiful work of Friedrich II. and Otto Heinrich. Probably already the decadence in architecture of the seventeenth century was setting in, which first showed itself in a failure of a just sense of proportion; there is a shrugged-up air about these lofty gables, and they do not entirely harmonize with their surroundings, though rich in decoration and in the main following the scheme of the Otto Heinrich Bau. Moreover, the slope of the ground rendered it difficult to arrange a worthy entrance, though it enabled the designer to place a beautiful terrace on the other side commanding a splendid view of town and river. The ground floor was devoted to the chapel, which has not a very sacred air, but it is interesting as belonging to a transitional period both in religion and architecture. Externally the chapel has more the look of a banqueting hall, since it is the ground floor of a lofty building containing a great dining-room over and suites of bedrooms above that, and its five windows on the courtyard side, though of a more ecclesiastical form than the rest, are as suitable to a hall as to a church. Those on the

north side are high up, deep-set, and round-arched. Within the traditions of a Gothic church blend strangely with the baroque type of the building: solid piers, resting on massive supports in the vault below, sustain a heavy tribune over a vestibule or narthex, a slender shaft being carried up in front of the piers to meet the rib-vaulting, which over the nave is somewhat flat on account of the floor above. This vestibule contains one entrance, the other being on the south side, and on the tribune was the electoral pew. Opposite, at the west, not the east end, stood the communion table with an organ tribune above it, and a connecting gallery was carried along the sides, the piers, which were built into the wall below, being pierced above with a passage after the manner of a triforium. An attempt was made to give apparent height by painting, and a decorative scheme of colour was also applied to the walls and piers. This is now being restored, a regrettable feature, as the design is florid and artificial with such details as imitation marbling, and detracts from the dignity of the whole. In the reigns of the Neuburg princes it was adapted for Catholic worship, and the recesses between the massive piers used for side altars, but it gained nothing in point of beauty, as taste in church ornament was then at its lowest ebb. The vaults below were intended for cellars, not for burial places. Being now used to keep models and designs for the work it is difficult to realize that it was once a place of worship.

Beneath it are large cellars, and above several lofty rooms with many windows; a dining-hall occupies the first story, and the second contains sleeping chambers for the Electoral family. These are in process of restoration, and are to be devoted to the precious historical museum made by the Count de Graimberg, which is meanwhile housed in the Otto Heinrich Bau.

The whole work took seven years in doing; the roof was not on till 1604, and the decorative part was still to be completed. This roof has been recently restored, and probably looked very different in former days with the

rough hand-cut slate; the new shiny machine-made slate gives rather a painful air of modernness to it as seen from the town or from the Philosophenweg. Both north and south frontages were richly adorned, the gables on the courtyard side being especially fine in detail. The architect was Johann Schoch of Strasburg, but he was no sculptor, and was unable himself to carry out his patron's idea of filling the niches on the south façade with a series of ancestors: a scheme of Friedrich's own, and more interesting than the symbolic figures of Otto Heinrich. Schoch engaged two sculptors to execute the work, but they failed entirely to satisfy the taste of Friedrich or his adviser Freher. About this time a young sculptor, Sebastian Götz by name, arrived from Chur in Switzerland with eight companions in search of employment, and on his wanderings he came to Heidelberg on a visit to two friends of his, burghers' sons, who were painters; hearing from them of the opening for the decoration of the new palace, he went to the master builder and laid before him some designs; he had already done work at Munich for Duke Max of Bavaria, but having only wrought as an assistant, his name does not appear in the Munich archives; he had also worked at Würzburg, perhaps on the lovely statues which adorn the old bridge, and his practical experience was just the thing needed. Schoch engaged him to make sixteen statues on the understanding that if they did not please he was to resign the work. There was some little haggling about the price, as he demanded sixty florins for himself for each statue, and from eight to ten for each of his assistants, which Friedrich considered too high; but at length sixty-five was agreed on for a figure in full armour with a lion at his foot, an undraped one to cost only thirty; these payments to include the helpers. It took some years to complete the scheme, for it was May, 1607, before they all were in their places. They were done in grey or yellow sandstone, the rest of the building being in red; but they were not left the natural colour, as those which have replaced them are, but were coloured to look like living men, and the armour

gilded or silvered. They were rather more than life size, a little too large, in fact, for the niches designed for them, and the brackets on which they stood had to be widened. They were, however, not the least too big for the elevated position they were to occupy.

The choice of subjects was Friedrich's own, helped doubtless by the historical knowledge of Freher. They were in four rows.

At the top: Charlemagne, Otto of Wittelsbach, Ludwig I., Rudolf I.

In the second row: Ludwig Emperor, Ruprecht Emperor, Otto King of Hungary, Christopher King of Denmark.

In the third row: Ruprecht the Elder, Friedrich the Victorious, Friedrich II., Otto Heinrich.

In the fourth row: Friedrich the Pious, Ludwig VI., Johann Casimir, Friedrich IV.

The dates are added rather at haphazard, some being those of death, some of accession. The choice of some of the earlier is a little difficult to understand, but the inclusion of Otto the Bavarian, King of Hungary, and that of Christopher, King of Denmark, grandson of Ruprecht III. through his second son Johann of Neuburg, through whom the Simmern and Sulzbach lines came in, was probably due to a desire to include the collateral lines, who all claimed descent from Charlemagne. In the third row the Elector selected some of the most typical figures among his ancestors, and in the fourth were his own grandfather, his father, uncle, and himself. The likenesses of many may have been taken from the series of oil paintings adorning the König Saal, many of which were destroyed in the burning of the Castle; those of the last three before Friedrich himself follow closely the statues on their tombs in St. Peter's church. There were also two great statues of Justice between the gables; these, as well as the fine lion heads, the masks over the pedimenta above the windows, and the nude statues on the roof gables the other side, were all by Götz.

His part of the work was by far the finest; his statues

are full of vigour and dignity. The general idea both of design and decoration was evidently taken from the Otto Heinrich Bau, but the horizontal lines which characterize that building are in the later one cut up by a multitude of details, and although the effect is rich, breadth and repose have been sacrificed. A change was passing over taste in architecture; it was just the period when the later Renaissance was passing into the Baroque.

As soon as his castle building was well on its way to completion Friedrich entered on another scheme: he perceived, what seems to have been overlooked since the time of the Romans, the great strategical importance of Mannheim at the junction of Rhine and Neckar, and he resolved to erect there a citadel to protect the route to Heidelberg and the Neckar valley. Little did he dream that in so doing he was pulling out the foundation stone of his own splendid home, that in years to come his successors would be attracted by the thriving populous town nearer to the main stream of life, and would build there a pretentious modern palace, leaving the ruins of Heidelberg desolate.

At that time, instead of an overgrown town swarming with factory chimneys, Mannheim was but a village where a handful of Walloon and Anabaptist refugees had set up their looms in the midst of the scattered farms, which formed a little township round about the fortress where once Pope John XXIII. had been imprisoned. The property had been held by the Abbey of Lorsch, and at the suppression had come into the hands of the government; it was not, however, very easy to induce the tenants to relinquish their leases of fruitful farms and vineyards, but Friedrich persevered and bought them out, and at length the plans were made, and the outline of the new fortress traced with a plough in the sod.

On 7 March, 1606, the founding was accomplished with great ceremony by the hands of the ten-year-old Crown Prince, the Elector and Electress being present with a brilliant suite in a great tent put up for their accommodation. The function began with singing the forty-sixth

Psalm, followed by a sermon from the Court Chaplain and a long prayer, after which the Elector first dug a small hole in the earth at the chosen spot, in which the little Prince laid a gold coin bearing the bust of Friedrich IV, and a long Latin inscription, which done, the whole company advanced, bringing each their handful of earth to throw upon it, till a large mound rose, and Mannheim was founded. A grand banquet concluded the proceedings, at which the native wine of Mannheim figured largely. The skies were not propitious; throughout the whole day the wind and rain raged so that the tent could hardly be kept up, and some saw mournful omens in the storm. One heavy heart there must have been, for the Electress had reluctantly torn herself from the death-bed of one of her little girls, and the child died a few days after.*

The Elector was not long to enjoy his completed home; he had inherited a delicate constitution from his father, and his excesses had brought on severe and weakening attacks of gout. In 1609 he was too ill to receive personally the visit of the Florentine ambassador, and his place was supplied by his cousin and trusted friend Johann of Zweibrücken. The account of the ambassador's experiences, written by a member of his suite, gives an interesting picture of the manners of the day, and of the great contrasts which prevailed among the various German Courts. On the whole Germany struck the tastes of the Italian visitors as barbarous, much given to drunkenness and gluttony, and wanting in polish and restraint, though there were notable exceptions. At Cassel the Landgrave of Hesse impressed them very favourably with his imposing personality and highly cultivated conversation, and they were no less charmed with the two brothers of Anhalt, Christian, who was the great friend of the Elector Palatine, receiving them with a gracious hospitality which kept his strict Calvinism quite in the background. At the Court of Saxony, on the contrary, they were much disgusted, and spoke of the flushed faces

* *Memoir of the Electress Juliane*, by Miss Bunny.

at table as "more beastly than princely," and an incident took place which made a most unfavourable impression: Johann Georg, afterwards Elector, being affronted at a coarse jest at his expense by one of the guests, flung the dregs of his half-emptied goblet in his face.

Far different was the reception at Heidelberg, though the Elector could not himself do the honours; the visitors must have been charmed by the gentleness and good-breeding of the Electress, and Count Johann showed them all the interesting sights of the place—the famous Library and the Great Tun, the stables and Riding School which Casimir had built down by the river, the gardens of the Castle with the orangery, where oranges and pomegranates ripened as though in the south, though only sheltered in a wooden shed warmed with stoves, for glass houses were hardly yet come in.

But for Friedrich the busy days and the merry life were over; he could no longer attend the Council nor head the deliberations of the Union; there was no more hunting in the woods nor fishing in the Wolfsbrunnen, no more running the ring, nor masquerades, nor dancing through the long afternoons; only a year of sick-room life, soothed by the devoted care and companionship of Juliane, and the young Elector was gathered to his fathers 9 September, 1610, at the early age of thirty-six. His death-bed was very peaceful, and his last act was to beg forgiveness of all whom he had offended, even of his servants to whom he had spoken harshly and impatiently in his sickness. It is not wonderful that his memory, in spite of his faults, is held in warmer regard than that of many more distinguished princes.

II

THE ENGLISH MARRIAGE

THE early death of Friedrich IV. called his eldest son, the fifth of the name, too soon to take his place. A splendid principality and a proud position awaited the boy of fourteen, but it was a position of enormous responsibility, and it remained to be proved whether he would be equal to its demands. The coming tragedy hardly yet cast its shadow over the future, and the opening of the young life was full of promise. He inherited both Upper and Rhenish Palatinate, his brother Ludwig Philip being provided for out of the Simmern property, in which also Juliane's dowry of Kaiserslautern was situated.

By his father's Will he was left in the personal guardianship of his mother, a woman of good sense and capacity, as well as of ardent religious principle of the Puritan type. As counsellors to her were appointed her brother Maurice Prince of Orange, her uncle John of Nassau, her brother-in-law Count Albrecht of Solms, and her husband's friend and kinsman Christian of Anhalt. With respect to the regency a question arose, since according to the Golden Bull it should have been assumed by the elder son of Count Palatine Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, Philip of Neuburg; but as he was a strict Lutheran it had not unnaturally been the wish of Friedrich IV., and was that of his widow, that the younger, Count Johann of Zweibrücken, should undertake it, as he was a Calvinist and a very close personal friend of the deceased Elector. After a little trouble he was permitted to take up the reins of government for the few years that would elapse before the majority of Friedrich V., and he soon entered

into still closer relation with the Electoral family by his marriage with Luise Juliane, the Elector's eldest sister. During his short tenure of the regency the death of the Emperor put the Vicariate of the Empire into his hands, and he had to summon and attend the Electoral Chapter, and give the vote in the stead of his young ward.

The education of the boy was already well advanced, for he had been placed some time before his father's death at the Castle of Sedan in the charge of the Duke de Bouillon, husband of his aunt, in whom his mother placed the greatest confidence. One of his tutors was Heinrich Alting, historian of the Church in the Palatinate, and his chamberlain was Hans Meihard von Schönberg or Schomberg, as it is sometimes called, whose house in the Haupt Strasse is now the Rheinische Bank. He was instructed in Latin, modern languages, mathematics, and military tactics; but unfortunately there was too great a preponderance of Heidelberg Catechism and religious polemics, so that even the Calvinistic biographer of his mother observes that they brought up the prince as if they aimed at making a divine rather than a ruler of him. At nine years old he addressed a congratulatory epistle to James I. on his escape from the Gunpowder Plot, in which he observes that "doubtless the wicked conspiracy proceeded from the direct machinations of Anti-Christ." * The tone of the whole letter is too childish to have been merely dictated.

Under this tuition he developed into a highly cultivated, well-bred, and high-principled youth, full of charm and promise, but lacking in just those qualities of self-reliance, resolution, and capacity to take an effective grip of affairs most needful for the critical times that were coming. A little spoilt too, less from indulgence than from an over-anxious fostering, rather increasing his tendency to morbid depression and irritability, which sometimes caused his faithful chamberlain qualms as to how his young master would bear himself in tiresome functions or towards unwelcome guests.

* *Memoir of the Queen of Bohemia*, by Miss Benger.

In his very cradle a brilliant match had been arranged for him; in the same year that he came into the world was born his future bride, the only daughter of James VI. of Scotland, and namesake of the Queen of England, who, it may be remembered, had been in some sort protectress of Friedrich's mother, the orphan daughter of William of Orange. It would probably be quite in accordance with the wish of the old Queen, if not of her devising, that an alliance with the Protestant Powers of the Continent should be thus cemented. Other suitors presented themselves for the hand of the Princess when, a few years later, her father succeeded to the English throne, amongst whom were Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and one of the Orange princes, but the claim of the Elector Palatine was preferred.

Meanwhile it seemed to the young Friedrich that not even yet, with the magnificent additions of his father, was his castle quite worthy of his English bride, and with all the enthusiastic delight in building which his forefathers had displayed he set to work to add what was known as the Englische Bau. No room was left for him in the courtyard, so the site he chose was between the building containing the Great Tun and the Thick Tower, where, upon the old rampart at its north-west corner, he erected a lofty palace in a style harmonizing with that built by his father, with which it was connected by corridors. On the other side it closely adjoined the huge tower, and in this a ballroom was made, the roof being raised some thirty-three feet. Above the round-headed windows of the first storey facing south remains of plaster decorations, garlands of fruit, and flowers with perching birds may still be found. The English Palace suffered severely both in the Thirty Years and Orleans Wars; indeed, it has been almost demolished, but old prints show it to have been a very worthy addition as viewed from the town or from across the river, and by its similarity with the palace of Friedrich V. taking off the disproportionate height and narrowness which is the great defect of the latter. Its two fine gables to the north are

of identical design, and later the low building between was raised and surmounted by a fifth gable; but this does not appear in the drawings of 1620, and was probably added in the restoration under Karl Ludwig. There were not the same rich adornments of statuary as in the preceding buildings, but they were not needed, as the south façade looked over the moat and the gardens behind the Frauenzimmer Bau. These sunny rooms, with their pleasant garden front, were destined for the bride who, true Stuart as she was, before all things loved a garden.

For her pleasure Friedrich planned wonderful improvements in the gardens, and entrusted the design to the most celebrated landscape gardener of the day, Solomon de Caus, who wrote an interesting and curious pamphlet, adorned with woodcuts, describing all he had done and planned to do in laying out the Hortus Palatinus. This was published the very year that his patron departed for Bohemia, and is to be found in the Castle Museum. Many writers have taken it for granted that no garden existed before this time, but gardens and orangeries to boot were already there, as they were seen and described by the Florentine ambassador in 1609; but something on a far more magnificent scale was in contemplation, and as de Caus had carte blanche, no expense was spared in laying out terrace above terrace supported on arches of solid masonry, for the hill was so steep that very little space for flower beds would otherwise have been attainable. The slope to the north was, of course, a disadvantage, but the exquisite views both up and down the river valley must have made up for much. The several terraces, balustraded and connected by flights of stone steps, with slopes of grass between, followed the shape of the hill; on the broad ones were brilliant parterres of flowers with fountains in the middle, sheltered with hedges of clipped yew and pleached alleys of beech or hornbeam, for not only shrubs, but full grown trees, both native and foreign, were transported without injury in boxes of earth. A mizmaze like that at Hampton Court was planned, and just where the Scheffel monument now stands something

that looks like the Dial of Flowers, so fashionable in those days, and celebrated in Andrew Marvell's "Lines in a Garden," was designed; but whether carried out or not it is difficult to say, for much existed only on paper at the time of the destruction.

A house on the south wall of the upper terrace on the road to Kohlhof was assigned to De Caus as Master of the Gardens, Fountains, and Grottoes. The agreement with him at the modest salary of a hundred a year, dated 14 July, 1614, is preserved in the archives. Another house appears in Merian's drawing at the north end of the long east terrace. This was called the Block House, but its use is not known; it may have been connected with the orangery. It is interesting to know that some of the orange trees of this date are still preserved at Schwetzingen, though in a leafless and decaying state. In the rocks which rose steeply behind castle and gardens, and made so beautiful a background to the brave show, were placed bath-houses and grottoes, some ornamented with artificial stalactites, some with quaint carvings of wild beasts, probably Elizabeth's taste, for she loved all animals and delighted to keep monkeys and queer creatures as pets.

Very early, before the young Elector had completed his eighteenth year, an embassy was sent to the English Court to arrange for the carrying out of the marriage contract and settle the dowry. At its head was Christian of Anhalt, and with him was Blikker, Landschad von Steinach, traditional henchman of the Palatinate House. The alliance was enormously popular with the English nation, especially with the Puritan section of it, since the Elector was expected to succeed to his father's position as Head of the Evangelical Union. Personally James was somewhat disinclined to it for that very reason, since his policy was rather to conciliate Spain, and do as much as in him lay to avert the threatened outbreak between Catholics and Protestants on the Continent. It was one thing for his predecessor to make common cause with the Protestants of Holland and Germany—politically her ex-

istence was bound up with the triumph of Protestantism—but James, in whom the Catholic claim of his mother was extinguished, was seated too firmly on his throne to be in any dread of the Pope, and was far more anxious not to commit himself to the extreme policy of the Reformed Church. His wife, Anne of Denmark, was still more averse to the match; her own Catholic leanings were strong, and only political necessity, it was thought, kept her within the Church of England; moreover, she did not like her only daughter to accept any title less than that of queen. It was, however, conceded that the young man should come and plead his own cause.

Elizabeth, now in her seventeenth year, had been brought up in the country under the sensible and affectionate care of Lord and Lady Harrington, and had only lately come to the Court. She had been used to very simple pleasures hitherto, and had her own little garden and her pets like any other child; still, she never forgot she was Princess Royal, and liked to queen it over the young companions who formed her little Court. The one person to whom she was submissive was her eldest brother, Henry Prince of Wales, two years her senior, to whom she wrote the prettiest little affectionate letters, and from whom the proud little lady would take any amount of boyish teasing and tyranny. He also was very fond of his little sister, and made her the Queen of the Tournament in which he won his spurs on the occasion of his being created Prince of Wales. From him she imbibed the romantic devotion to the Protestant cause which distinguished her all her life, for his chief friends young Lord Harrington and Sir Edmund Verney were ardent Protestants, and the heroes to whom he looked up were Henri of Navarre and William the Silent. For "Baby Charles" Elizabeth does not seem to have cared so much.

She had grown up slender and graceful, active as a panther, and untiring in riding or dancing; her deep dark eyes and well-marked eyebrows and her dark hair, dashed with Stuart russet, were set off by her mother's brilliantly fair complexion. Her features were rather

strongly marked for a girl, her expression most animated, and she possessed the incomparable gift of her more famous grandmother of fascinating all with whom she came in contact, which won her her title of Queen of Hearts. Happily her intended bridegroom proved no exception.

It must have been a critical moment for the young pair when they were first presented to each other. The Elector Palatine arrived at Gravesend 17 October, 1612, in a splendid yacht, and from thence proceeded by barge to Whitehall, where he was received by Prince Charles, then a boy of eleven, and conducted ceremoniously into the presence of the King and Queen and his future bride. Happily he betrayed none of the nervousness he must have been feeling, and first impressions were most favourable; tall, graceful, and self-possessed, as well as exceedingly handsome, the proposed bridegroom won the suffrages of all; even Queen Anne was a little better disposed to him when she saw how perfectly he and Elizabeth were matched in outward graces, and his good breeding under such difficult circumstances told not a little in his favour. He himself fell speedily deep in love with the Princess, whose liveliness and charm harmonized so well with his quieter temperament. James, who loved good-looking young people and was very fond of his handsome daughter, was quite won over when he saw how well inclined Elizabeth was to her suitor, and he withdrew all objection. It was politic to gratify the wishes of the people, who had set their hearts on the match, and he now bestowed the Garter on the young man, and proceeded to entertain him with a series of the pageants, masques, and interludes which he and his consort loved. The Queen remained passive, but she could not forbear occasionally taunting her daughter by calling her "Goody Palsgrave."

All was going merry as a marriage bell when a deep shadow fell over the festivities in the sudden illness and death of the Prince of Wales. Though mirth was turned to mourning the wooing was not interrupted, for Elizabeth was allowed to receive her betrothed in her private apart-

ments, and his sympathetic tenderness, his great admiration for her lost brother, and the gentle melancholy that was natural to him suited her chastened mood and drew them into a closer intimacy than would have been possible amidst all the festive shows. Henry had liked him so much too, and that endeared him more to her. Only a little space could be allowed for mourning, then the nuptial ceremonies were resumed; it was desirable that the Elector Palatine should not be kept too long away from his own dominions, and the nation was eager to witness the marriage of its beloved Princess.

A very full account of the wedding is to be found in a pamphlet published in England the same year, 1613. The bride was gorgeous in white satin richly brocaded with pearls, a crown of pearls and diamonds on her head, and her long chestnut plaits wound with strings of jewels; the bridegroom wore a most becoming suit of white satin embroidered in silver, and in his plumed hat a diamond agraffe of great value. The marriage service was that of the English Prayer-book, and Friedrich made his responses in very good English. The Bishop of Bath and Wells preached a sermon on the Marriage in Cana of Galilee, and two anthems were sung. Whether the length of the sermon got upon her nerves, or some untoward incident touched her quick sense of the ludicrous, at one point of the service Elizabeth with difficulty stifled an untimely fit of laughter, or as one spectator politely put it, " coruscations of joy " were observed to pass over her Highness's countenance. It was considered a presage of coming sorrow; according to the old adage, " Laugh before morning, cry before night." It would be tedious to tell of the brilliant company assembled and the magnificence of their costumes. In England the marriage gave unbounded satisfaction; but the Spanish ambassador was sick and could not accept the invitation; the representative of the Archduke also sent an excuse.

Although the wedding took place on 14 February it was near the end of April before the young pair set sail from Margate, being accompanied by the King and Queen

as far as Rochester, and by Prince Charles to the port. Arrived in Holland, they were received by Count Maurice of Nassau, and Friedrich, leaving his bride for a while in the charge of his uncle, preceded her that he might arrange a fitting reception for her. It was during this visit to the Hague that Elizabeth formed a strong and lasting friendship with Catherine of Brunswick, wife of her cousin Count Ernest of Nassau. This lady's brother Christian, called "the mad Halberstadter," became one of Elizabeth's most devoted adherents in the dark days that were coming.

The journey up the Rhine in Maurice's yacht was quite a triumphal progress, for at every stopping-place the new Electress was greeted with embassies and deputations, but the thing she enjoyed most was escaping from these tedious ceremonies and eating an al fresco meal in the fields. She was so engaged, seated under the shade of a clump of beeches near Düsseldorf, when, to her delight, she first caught sight of the fairy fleet her husband had sent to bring her on her way, the boat intended for her own use being fitted with every luxury and elegance his taste could devise. It must have been indeed a lovely voyage; she slept one night in Bishop Hatto's Tower, and at each point was entertained with the legends and traditions which had gathered round every castle or island by the way. At Bacharach her impatient lover rejoined her to welcome her into his own dominions. They passed Mayence and Worms without much stay; Oppenheim greeted them with a band of music and triumphal arches; but Frankenthal, which had been made part of her dowry, outdid all the rest in the splendour of its reception. A curious old pamphlet published in 1613, which is to be found in the Library at Heidelberg, gives a full description of this, with prints of the arches, of the costume processions, amongst which were troops of Indians and Moors in woolly wigs and long black stockings, and of the fireworks with marvellous set-pieces, one representing the siege of Troy.

Time would fail to tell of the reception in the town of Heidelberg, and we must pass to Elizabeth's arrival at her future home, where in the vestibule she was greeted

by the Dowager Electress with a train of twelve princesses, ranging in years from the aged mother of the Administrator down to his little girl, the child of Friedrich's sister. When the carriage stopped in the courtyard Friedrich lifted his bride in his arms and bore her over the threshold into the embrace of his mother.

The interior of the Castle no less than the distant view of it astonished and delighted the English suite. Elizabeth's own withdrawing-room in the new part was called the silver chamber, and was exquisitely decorated. The floors of porphyry, the gilded columns and inlaid cornices of the banqueting hall and ballroom formed a magnificent background for the festivities, and it was felt by Elizabeth's retainers that no queen could have had a more brilliant reception. The next day a service of thanksgiving was held and a sermon preached by the Court Chaplain Abraham Schulz, or, as he was called according to the fashion of the day, Scultetus. After this the bridal pair dined in state, served by twelve princes; and for twelve days they held wassail, entertaining five thousand guests in the König Saal, for whose refreshment the Great Tun was repeatedly drained and refilled. A series of amusements occupied the days, including a splendid tournament and a Masque of the Golden Fleece, with other mythological pageants. Elizabeth enjoyed the whole show with the zest of her youth and the insatiable appetite for pleasure which she inherited from both parents. The whole wound up with a dance of honour (Ehrentanz), probably a kind of polonaise or stately procession to music which was a Court custom on such occasions. Two other betrothals were set on foot during these festivities, that of Georg Wilhelm of Brandenburg to Charlotte, the Elector's second sister, and of the chamberlain Count Schomberg to Anne Dudley, the friend of Elizabeth's childhood and her chief lady-in-waiting.*

Many merry days followed, for Elizabeth could enjoy simple pleasures as keenly as she did the gorgeous festivities of her reception, and her buoyant spirit kept Fried-

* *Memoir of the Queen of Bohemia*, by Miss Benger.

rich's " blue devils " at bay while he was with her. We may picture the young pair riding together, lovers still, through the exquisite beech woods in the fresh green of early summer over the hills or up the Neckar valley to the Wolfsbrunnen, there to enjoy days of Arcadian simplicity, or wandering about their lovely gardens, planning with De Caus what should be here or there. Soon their felicity was completed by the birth of a Crown Prince, named Henry after the loved and lost brother ; next year a second boy arrived, and then a little Elizabeth, future Abbess of Herford and friend of Descartes.

After a few years the grandmother retired to her dower house at Kaiserslautern. There were not wanting whispers of jealousy between the ladies and resentment on the side of the elder at the precedence claimed for the English princess, but such a feeling would be very unlike Juliane ; it is far more likely that her naturally serious temper, chastened with many sorrows, could not easily make allowance for the high spirits and frivolity that characterized her daughter-in-law, whose Protestantism was of quite a different type, and did not include any sour disapproval of amusement. Or the mother may have felt a not unnatural jealousy of the wife whose influence was now paramount where her word used to be law. They seem to have parted quite good friends ; a letter of Elizabeth's mentions that Madame Mère had departed for Kaiserslautern " quite well content."

It must not be thought that Elizabeth was wholly given to frivolity, though she had the undiminished eagerness of her years for outdoor sports—hunting, hawking, and fishing—and took delight in her garden and her pets, in pageants and in plays. She was intensely alive, but like all the Stuarts she had a strong taste for art and for books, and was no unworthy member either of the highly cultured family she belonged to or of that which she entered, in which the taste for books was a hereditary passion. She knew Latin, French, and Italian well, and read history eagerly. One of her books—Sir Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*—with marginal notes in

Latin in her own handwriting, was left behind at Prague in the hasty flight, and after many adventures found a resting-place in the British Museum.* A taste for the drama should not surely be accounted frivolous in the days of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, of Beaumont and Fletcher. Several of Shakespeare's plays were produced on the occasion of her wedding, and not improbably some of the English strolling players, so much in fashion on the Continent, may have visited Heidelberg and given some of them there.

In the early years of her marriage Elizabeth received a visit from Lord Herbert of Cherbury, but his mention of it in his memoirs is tantalizingly brief; not a word of description of the beautiful Castle nor of the famous Hortus Palatinus, only this: "From hence (Cologne) I went to Heidelberg, where I saw the Prince and Princess Palatine, from whom having received much good usage, I went to Ulm, and so to Augsburg."

Friedrich celebrated the birth of his heir with another little plan to please Elizabeth, namely, the conversion of the long terrace outside the moat under her windows, which had been mounted with cannon and called the Ordnance Garden, into a private garden for her pleasure. It was named the English Garden, and filled with the fragrant English flowers that recalled her childish home; the Crown Imperial, the Flower de Luce, the Musk Rose, together with carnations and gilliflowers, filled the long terrace where the black-mouthed cannon had so lately stood; and at the south end it was enclosed and kept private by a rococo gateway, still standing, with a Latin inscription to the effect that it was presented by Friedrich V. to his dearest wife Elizabeth in the year 1615.

Looking on the lordly castle and its pleasure grounds, it might have been thought that the Millennium was come; the ramparts were surmounted with palaces, the strongest tower had become a ballroom, the guns had made way for the flowers. Alas! the eve of the Thirty Years War was no moment to turn spears into pruning-hooks.

* Rye's *England as seen by Foreigners.*

III

A FATAL CROWN

MEANTIME, though affairs within the Palatinate were going prosperously enough, Friedrich having taken over the government from the hands of the Administrator shortly after his marriage, the Empire at large was in a most critical condition, requiring very wary walking; the incompetent Rudolf having been succeeded by his brother Mathias, who continued the same unwise policy of exasperating the Protestants by encroaching on the immunities granted them in previous reigns. Friedrich, with a rash impetuosity, assumed the function of Leader of the Union, which he considered himself to have inherited from his father, by sending deputies to Ratisbon to remonstrate against these proceedings, whereby he not only provoked the indignation of the League at what was looked on as an impertinence, but also the jealousy of the older members of the Union, notably the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Wurtemberg, without achieving anything for his own side. Within the Union these jealousies were rife, while two of the chief Protestant princes, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, coldly stood aloof, being Lutherans, and declined to act with the Calvinists. The Union was further weakened by the defection of Count Wolfgang of Neuburg, the successful candidate for the little principality of Jülich and Cleves, who had embraced the Catholic Faith and married a Bavarian princess, sister of Maximilian, Head of the League.

But it was in Hungary and Bohemia, the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburgs, that the Catholic reaction was being most severely felt. Two new churches which

the Hussites had erected near Prague were ordered to be demolished, in contravention, as they urged, of the privileges secured under the Letters of Majesty granted them by Ferdinand I. The reply was that these conventicles were on Church land on which they had no permission to build. But this was only one of many grievances, and a very stormy meeting of the States took place under the leadership of Count Thurm, at which the Imperial Commissioners, failing to satisfy the demands of the Deputies, were dragged to the window and flung into the street, and only escaped serious injury by falling ignominiously on a dunghill. This was, as it were, a match to gunpowder, and the whole kingdom was in an uproar; there was no turning back now. As Count Thurm said in his impassioned address: "There remains now no room for repentance, and no plea for forgiveness. The die is thrown; we must embrace freedom or the scaffold." Emboldened by the example of Hungary, which had just carried through a successful revolution under Bethlem Gabor, the Bohemians flung off their allegiance and appointed a provisional government, with Count Thurm at its head.

Mathias, who shortly after died, had already abdicated Bohemia, and had been succeeded by Ferdinand, who was King of the Romans. Ferdinand had evaded signing the Letters of Majesty, and was therefore not personally pledged to respect the special privileges of the Protestants. The plea of the insurgents was that their kingdom was originally elective like that of Poland, though since the time of Karl IV. it had remained in the Hapsburg family, that the election of Ferdinand was invalid, the work of a small knot of the nobility, and that it could not be confirmed without his signing the Letters of Majesty, which they regarded as the charter of their liberties.

Ferdinand was for a time in a position of the utmost peril; he found himself besieged in his palace by a force of desperate rebels who clamoured for his abdication or instant signature of their demands. Too high-spirited to yield to force what he had previously offered in negotia-

tion, he firmly refused, and but for the timely arrival of a single company of Imperialist troops must have fallen a captive into their hands. Escaping from the immediate danger, he repaired to Vienna and demanded that a deputation should be sent him there; Thurm replied by marching an army into Moravia.

Count Thurm did not intend like Bethlem Gabor to grasp his country's crown, so the question arose to whom should the perilous honour be offered? One man seemed marked out for it, the young Head of the Evangelical Union. Of blameless life and noble qualities, inheritor of the Protestant traditions of his House, fortified with very powerful alliances, through his mother with the Low Countries, through his wife with England, his devotion to the cause gilded with a touch of romance that might make him the very Paladin of Protestantism, he seemed the man for their need. He had been watching the struggle with sympathetic interest, and had had a representative on the spot, Count Christopher Dohna, who had been some time in Prague, and who without doubt encouraged the making of the offer.

But Friedrich was not the man to grasp an opportunity; he was both dazzled and dismayed, and began to ask advice all round. Ought he? had he better? Was it indeed a call of God, as his Court Chaplain urged upon him, or was it a prompting of worldly ambition? His uncles in whom he trusted, Maurice of Orange and the Duke de Bouillon, passionately urged his acceptance, and hinted at further higher honours in the dim future; Germany, with a Protestant Emperor at its head, might change the face of Europe—but this was only whispered. His fellow Electors one and all dissuaded him. It seemed a strange moment when he was about to assist in the election of Ferdinand to the imperial crown to annex his hereditary dominions; the Union doubted, and would not pledge themselves definitely to stand by him. To a wiser man their attitude would have shown plainly enough that their intention was to support him if he succeeded, to wash their hands if he failed.

One voice to which he had always hitherto listened was uplifted in earnest dissuasion. His mother, who was perfectly devoid of ambition, and a very clear-sighted woman, was alive to the serious risks involved; she pointed out to him the impulsive, unreliable nature of the Bohemians, the difficulty of dealing with a people of such various religious denominations—for there were more Catholics and Lutherans than Reformed in Bohemia, and the Hussites had always been more concerned for political freedom than for religious tenets. Gaining the crown in such a manner, at the invitation of the people, he would have no security of tenure; what they bestowed they might in a moment revoke. She urged upon him how completely he would put himself in the wrong and imperil his position as Elector Palatine, and what disaster he might bring upon his own fair lands, and above all she besought him to put no trust in his allies; his uncles might be personally disposed to support him, but the States of Holland would not be likely to risk much on his behalf; and from his father-in-law, James I., she well knew he had little to hope, for James's whole policy was bent not to forward the Protestant cause, but to maintain the equilibrium, and he would be sure to resent whatever interfered with the Spanish alliance he was trying to negotiate. Friedrich sent letters to James, asking his advice—and did not wait for the answer.

For there was another voice to urge him on, a voice dearer to him than even that of his mother. Elizabeth, who long ago had caught from her ardent young brother an enthusiasm for the Reformed Faith, saw in the proposal a call to champion an oppressed people and a chance for her husband to win undying glory. She may have been dazzled by the vision of a crown, but was too high-hearted and showed herself too noble in misfortune for that to have been her prime motive; the story of her having taunted him with having wooed a king's daughter and shrunk from winning a crown for her is apocryphal, or at least the thing was said to him not by her, but by one of his counsellors. She was ready to run any risk of

danger or loss to support him, and she was true to her word: never once did she reproach him for his failure.

Meanwhile Friedrich hesitated and professed himself ready to give his adhesion either to the Elector of Saxony or to Maximilian of Bavaria should the choice fall on them; but both declined the dangerous honour—the Elector from prudence, Maximilian from a sense of duty to the Emperor. Both endeavoured to dissuade Friedrich from rushing on destruction, but the Elector, as well as some of the Princes of the Union, made cordial if indefinite promises of support. So Friedrich proceeded to Amberg, and from thence notified to the deputies his acceptance of the Bohemian crown.

This was on 25 September. Mr. Gardiner is somewhat disposed to blame James for not having endeavoured to stop his son-in-law in time. Possibly a swift and strong representation might have availed, but James was a slow man to think or act, and was moreover offended. Friedrich had sent Count Dohna to England to ask his opinion, and eight days later, before any answer could have reached him, arrived the news that he had accepted the crown. James, who was always rather touchy about his dignity, complained that the Elector's conduct in asking his advice and then deciding without hearing it was really unbearable. He may not have realized that there was still a chance of withholding Friedrich from his rash course before his acceptance was formally notified at Prague, and there seems no colour for Häusser's attempt to saddle James with the whole responsibility.

A letter from James Howell to Sir James Croft, referring to the current news of the day, shows how the matter was talked of in London:—*

"There is fearful news come from Germany: you know how the Bohemians shook off the Emperor's yoke, and how the great council of Prague fell to such a hurly-burly that some of the imperial councillors were hurled out at the windows: you heard also, I doubt not, how they offered the crown to the Duke of Saxony, and he waiving

* *Familiar Letters of James Howell.*

it, they sent ambassadors to the Palsgrave, whom they thought might prove *pars negotio*, and be able to go through-stitch with the work, in regard of his powerful alliance, the King of Britain being his father-in-law, the King of Denmark, the Prince of Orange, the Marquis of Brandenburg, the Duke of Bouillon his uncles, the States of Holland his confederates, the French King his friend, and the Duke of Brunswick his near ally: the Prince Palsgrave made some difficulty at first, and most of his counsellors opposed it; others incited him to it, and among other hortatives they told him, 'That if he had the courage to venture upon a King of England's sole daughter, he might very well venture upon a sovereign crown when it was tendered him.' Add hereunto, that the States of Holland did mainly advance the work, and there was good reason in policy for it; for their twelve years truce being then upon the point of expiring with Spain, and finding our King so wedded to peace, that nothing could divorce him from it, they lighted upon this design to make him draw his sword and engage him against the house of Austria for the defence of his sole daughter and his grandchildren. What his Majesty will do hereafter I will not presume to foretell, but hitherto he hath given little countenance to the business; nay, he utterly misliked it at first: for whereas Dr. Hall gave the Prince Palsgrave the title of King of Bohemia in his pulpit-prayer, he had a check for it; for I heard his Majesty should say, that there is an implicit tie among kings, which obligeth them, though there be no other interest or particular engagement, to stick to, and right one another upon an insurrection of subjects; therefore he had the more reason to be against the Bohemians, than to adhere to them in the deposition of their sovereign prince. The King of Denmark sings the same note, nor will he allow him the appellation of King."

This shows plainly the line James was understood in London to have taken, but his advice and protest came too late.

Little thought Friedrich and Elizabeth during the few

'THE WINTER KING AND QUEEN.'

From Portraits by Bolswerth in the Castle Museum.

Photo. by Ed. v. König.

days he spent in Heidelberg before their deprature that it was the last time they would ever walk together in their pleasant gardens. Full of hope and bright anticipation though she was, she could not infuse her own sanguine spirit into her husband. He would act against advice, but he could not act boldly and confidently; for those remaining days he renounced all the amusements in which he had delighted, as though anxious to show that it was from a deep sense of religious duty that he undertook the enterprise. On the Sunday, the day before they left, a solemn service was performed in the church of the Holy Ghost, at which Friedrich was present with his eldest son, now in his sixth year. At its close he pronounced a valediction to his people which was listened to with tears and sobs. It was a gloomy October day, the heavens wept in sympathy; it seemed as though a cloud brooded over the city.

Next morning early the King and Queen elect departed in a travelling carriage followed by a numerous suite. They took the little Crown Prince with them, leaving their two younger children in their grandmother's charge. Juliane watched them depart with tears of anxious foreboding, and as the carriage disappeared from view she cried aloud, "Alas! the Palatinate has departed to Bohemia."

Far different was the welcome that awaited them in Prague; after the sorrowful parting Elizabeth's high spirits rose at the acclamations of an enthusiastic populace, charmed with the beauty and grace of the young pair who had come to reign over them, and seeing in them their deliverers from oppression. In spite of her ignorance of the language of their new subjects, Elizabeth's sweet expressive face and vivacious manner conveyed to them a gracious response to their welcome. The citizens of Prague, though far behind the Heidelbergers in culture and refinement, delighted in an almost barbaric pomp, and Elizabeth, like her father, loved pageantry. Preparations were made to celebrate the coronation with all the ancient traditional ritual which custom had hallowed

to the people. Now if ever was the time for the exercise of that toleration which Friedrich had promised; he had come among them, it was true, to uphold Protestant liberties, but not to trample down those of Lutherans or Catholics who formed the majority in his new kingdom, or force upon them strange and uncongenial rites. The Lutherans and Hussites of Bohemia had discarded very little of the old religion; to them the Host was a sacred thing, and they reverenced the Crucifix and images of the saints. Murmurs arose when it appeared that the Coronation was to be shorn of its ancient symbolic rites as savouring of Catholic superstition, and that the cathedral in which it was to be held was to be cleared of the symbols of the faith to which Lutherans and Catholics alike paid reverence. To this blind folly Friedrich was incited by Scultetus, who seemed to conceive that they had come thither to force the Bohemians into the Calvinist fold, and to whose fanatical mind it appeared that extermination was the only policy towards what he regarded as superstitious practices. The chaplain had a great ascendency over the mind of Friedrich, and filled it with visions of what he was to accomplish, founded partly on his own interpretations of prophecy, partly on the predictions of astrology, and taught him to see in the great comet of 1618 a portent of his own victorious course. It is to be feared that Elizabeth did little or nothing on the side of prudence, for she too was an enthusiast.

Some concessions were, however, made, and the Coronation was celebrated on 4 November with so much of its proper ceremonial that Scultetus remained an indignant spectator, refusing to take any part in what he regarded as idolatrous rites. Two days later that of Elizabeth followed. Among the congratulations which were immediately received from all the Protestant Powers came a note of warning from King James, who deplored the rashness of the Elector Palatine, and expressed some resentment that he should have resolved on accepting the crown immediately after writing to solicit his father-in-law's advice respecting it.

Hardly had the echoes of the bell-ringings, salvoes, and jubilations died away when murmurs of discontent began to be heard. It was observed that the new Queen avoided driving across the bridge over the Moldau which was adorned with statues and a very ancient crucifix which had stood there from time immemorial; she ascribed her avoidance of it to the over-free custom of bathing from the banks, but the people would have it that she would not pass the Christ. A little later a slight misunderstanding arose over what was intended as a most pretty attention. On St. Elizabeth's day, her name-day, the matrons of the town presented themselves with an offering of all kinds of daintiest bread, cakes, and comfits in memory of their saint and her lapful of roses. Elizabeth herself received their present with gracious smiles and thanks, but some of her suite had the rudeness and bad taste to let the donors see them making merry over the homeliness of the offering, the significance of which they did not comprehend. It was a pity the Queen had not taken the trouble to master a little of the language, that she and her visitors might have understood each other better. Deeply mortified, they withdrew, and lest it should be supposed that the simplicity of their gift arose from stinginess, they prepared a more costly present, an ebony cradle, richly inlaid with jewels, for the infant that was expected.

The baby who took possession of the cradle on 18 December was Rupert, so well known and beloved in England. Here again an opportunity for a graceful compliment to the Bohemians was missed, for instead of bestowing a Bohemian name on the little prince born in their midst, Friedrich chose to name him after two of the greatest of his ancestors, Ruprecht the Elder, founder of the University, and Ruprecht the Emperor, builder of an early portion of the castle. He did, however, bend to their wishes in asking his Hungarian ally, Bethlem Gabor, to stand sponsor, though he was popularly held to be almost a Moslem.

Underneath the brilliant life led by the Court in Prague,

behind the friendly sentiments expressed by King and people, troubles were brewing. One of the most unlucky qualities of the young pair, part perhaps of the romantic disposition they shared, was a total inability to face facts and see things as they were. Well named the Winter King and Queen, they persistently built defences out of snowdrifts. To maintain them in their precarious position they relied on the support of the Union which had given them very equivocal promises, and on that of James, who had given them no promises at all, only warnings. He had refused to acknowledge them as King and Queen, pointing out that Friedrich's act was one of rebellion against his suzerain, in which he could not abet him, therefore to rely on his extricating them from the difficulties in which their disregard of his advice had involved them was simple madness. It is true that Elizabeth had a strong party in England devoted to her interests; not only warm personal friends like Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Thomas Rowe, who would have done anything for her, but to the Puritan party she and her husband stood for the cause they had at heart, and those who had been brought up in the policy of the old Queen of England were strong for making common cause with the Reformed Church and curbing the power of the Hapsburgs and of Spain. There would therefore have been little difficulty in obtaining supplies from Parliament for aid in Bohemia, but in James's view too much blood and treasure had already been wasted in a cause for which he had little sympathy. He had inherited an alliance with the Low Countries and a feud with Spain, a policy he personally wished to modify, and any effective aid to his daughter would have meant a complete reversal of his own policy, and a tremendous accession of strength to the Puritan party in England. Far more was involved than the Palatinate either could or would understand; so they went on their way, if not quite without misgivings, with the comfortable conviction that if the worst came to the worst, the power of England would extricate them from the dilemma.

In such a position it should have been their first duty to conciliate their new subjects and grapple them to themselves; but no, they were more concerned to purify the churches of what they deemed superstition. Friedrich was not content with receiving the Holy Supper seated at a wooden table, to the scandal of the Lutherans as much as to the Catholics, but he must also remove the High Altar and banish the Crucifix, pictures, and statues. Worst of all, Scultetus, with his connivance, had the great Crucifix on the bridge hewn down and demolished, to the dismay and indignation of the populace. Small wonder if they fought half-heartedly in the cause of their chosen king.

For fighting was not far off; Maximilian as the Emperor's ally was rapidly marching a force of Bavarians into Bohemia; Spanish troops were threatening the Palatinate, and instead of the expected support from the Union came a letter from the meeting at Mühlhausen under the presidency of the Elector of Saxony, exhorting Friedrich to relinquish the crown which he had usurped, and not to involve the common cause of Protestantism in the guilt of his rebellion. Evidently little was to be looked for from allies, and Bethlem Gabor had been won over to neutrality. Friedrich stood alone, but it was too late to draw back with the enemy at the gates.

For some time he had been endeavouring to get the army into a better state of preparedness to meet disciplined troops, but the Bohemians were little inclined to submit to control from a king whom they regarded as their puppet, and the reforms remained chiefly on paper. He began to get uneasy, and sent Prince Henry under the charge of his uncle Ludwig to the Countess Ernest of Nassau, but he could not induce Elizabeth, even for the sake of her unborn child, to leave Prague and seek a place of safety; for the Queen, fearing lest her departure should be construed into a want of confidence in their cause, refused to leave, and continued to encourage the inhabitants, and with her ladies to work banners for the troops.

Nearer and nearer drew the invading army, under such

masters of warfare as Tilly and Wallenstein, while the forces of Friedrich were weakened by disaffection and by jealousies between the Bohemian and Palatinate commanders. The poor Winter King seemed always fated to do the wrong thing; believing that the attack was not imminent, he left his army and returned to the town in order to restore confidence and order there on the very eve of the battle of White Mountain. The storm suddenly broke on 19 November, 1620, and before Friedrich, warned by the roar of the cannon, could mount his fleetest charger and reach the gate, the park outside was filled with a rush of fugitives, even the commander-in-chief without hat or plume, beating wildly on the gates which had been shut in their faces by the terrified inhabitants. Friedrich had the gates opened to them and quickly closed again, but it was too late for defence, and finding all was lost he returned to the palace to hurry Elizabeth into a place of safety.

Even then some stand might have been possible, for Count Mansfeld with a force of twelve thousand men was not far off; but there had been no defences made to cover retreat, and Friedrich was overwhelmed with despair and with fears for the fate of his idolized wife. She, though in no state to endure fatigue or alarm, showed high courage. She sustained her husband and gave all needful orders for the hasty departure, though instead of receiving any aid from her special attendant and chief friend, the Countess of Schomberg (Anne Dudley), she had to console and comfort her, for her husband was among the fallen.

In the confusion something of more importance than Elizabeth's book was nearly left behind, namely, the baby, his nurse having dropped him, or more likely laid him down while she fetched his clothes, and forgotten him, and he was picked up by Count Dohna just in time to be tossed into the last coach, where he rolled down into the boot amongst the luggage, from whence his lusty cries caused him to be rescued.

Whither to fly was the question; the Upper Palatinate

was in the hands of the Bavarians, Heidelberg threatened by the Spaniards, so that the dowager Electress, with the younger children, had with difficulty escaped to Brandenburg. The fugitives reached Breslau in safety, and from thence proceeded to Frankfort; but they were now under the ban of the Empire, and all the German princes declined to receive them. The Elector of Saxony would not suffer them to remain in his dominions, and Friedrich turned to the Elector of Brandenburg, who had married his second sister Charlotte. He was a prudent person, and though he had already given an asylum to his mother-in-law and her daughter Catherine, he was afraid to seem to give any countenance to Friedrich. Yet in Elizabeth's condition to refuse her a refuge was inhumanity, so, very coldly and ungraciously, he said if they chose to go to the desolate fortress of Cüstrin in his dominions they would be safe there, but it was almost unfurnished, very cold, and wholly unfit for the Queen.

Elizabeth made no difficulties; there they took refuge, and there in desolation, in the lack of almost everything she needed for her comfort, she received on Christmas Eve the Christmas gift of her fifth child Maurice. No unwelcome one, unpropitious though his advent was, for the child of sorrow remained the dearest of her children.

BOOK VI

THE NADIR

I

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

THE results of Friedrich's rashness were worse and more far-reaching than the most pessimistic of his counsellors had foretold; not his newly won kingdom only, nor his hereditary dominions, but the whole Empire was involved in a tragedy that lasted a generation. Not till the boy, carried away in haste from Heidelberg, was a man of middle age, not till Friedrich himself had lain years in the grave, should the fire he had kindled burn itself out. For nearly a century the strife had been brewing, and Friedrich was like a child who, having struck a match in defiance of warning to light his own little candle, has flung it into a heap of tow and burned down the house.

Even after the battle of White Mountain had he attempted to rally his broken forces, withdrawn to Heidelberg, and there amongst his own subjects entrenched himself and made a stand, the issue might have been very different; but he left his brother-in-law, Johann of Zweibrücken, to take his place, while he wrung his hands and asked advice till it was too late to do anything. For the Spaniards from the Netherlands under Spinola were already marching up the Rhine and Moselle and threatening the Palatinate; the Bavarians were overrunning Bohemia; the dogs of war, so long held in leash, had broken loose on every side. Mansfeld and Thurm would have had him fight on in Bohemia—already a lost cause, and one in which he had neither a shadow of right nor yet an ally; the Princes of the Union held coldly aloof, unwilling to commit themselves even by advice; his uncle of

Holland, who was chiefly to blame, would give him an asylum and would help him if James would, and James counselled submission.

Pardonably enough the historians of the Palatinate are indignant at what they consider the culpable apathy of the English king, thinking only of the relationship and the hopes that had been built upon it, and forgetful that the fatal step had been taken without his sanction, and that its results were precisely what he had foretold. Even had he been willing to embroil his own country in a vast European war, the ends to be gained were not his ends; he did not desire the predominance of the Dutch and German Calvinists; he wished for peace and a stable equilibrium, a *rapprochement* if possible between Catholics and Protestants, or at the least a *modus vivendi*, all of which was rendered hopeless by the Thirty Years War, that war in which, as Professor Bryce has so truly said, "all were defeated and none were victorious." It is true there was an influential party in his own country who were most anxious to see him draw the sword on behalf of his daughter—some like Sir Henry Wotton and Sir Thomas Rowe—out of personal devotion to the English princess, many because they wished to see England committed to the extreme Protestant cause. James would have been glad enough to get his son-in-law reinstated in the Palatinate, and this he hoped might have been done would Friedrich resign all claim to the crown of Bohemia; indeed, he had Gondomar's promise to that effect, but Gondomar could only promise on behalf of Spain, and James greatly overrated his own diplomacy with the other powers concerned. The Emperor was deeply affronted at the invasion of his rights; Maximilian counted on the Electoral voice and the reversion of at least the Upper Palatinate in reward for his services in Bohemia, and the Pope would not be sorry to see a strongly Calvinistic power wiped out.

So in January, 1622, Friedrich was summoned to answer for his conduct before the Emperor instead of before the Electoral College as, according to the Golden

Bull, was his right. The circular he put forth was not calculated to do him any good; it was too submissive in tone and did not go far enough in content; for though he professed himself willing to submit to the Emperor's decision "in all that did not touch his honour or conscience," that phrase might be made to cover a good deal, and he still styled himself King of Bohemia. Either he should have explicitly resigned the crown to which he was not entitled, or been prepared to maintain his claim to it at the sword's point. He should also have stood upon his right to be tried by his peers, and that his adversary should not be made judge over him. For he pleaded that his crime, if crime it were, was against the Archduke of Austria, claiming the kingdom of Bohemia, and not against the Emperor as Emperor, and therefore did not amount to high treason.

Meanwhile, through the fruitless negotiations that dragged on, Mansfeld, who was a soldier of fortune and little concerned for politics, was carrying on a desultory warfare in Bohemia and in the Upper Palatinate, and though frequently victorious, doing little good to Friedrich's cause and exasperating his enemies, whom he should either have conciliated or met with every force at his command. Another supporter took the field, Duke Christian of Brunswick, Lay Bishop of Halberstädt, and brother of the Countess of Nassau, Elizabeth's dearest friend, in whose charge the little Crown Prince had been placed. This young man, whose gloomy disposition and passionate temper had gained him the nickname of the Mad Halberstädter, had fallen completely under the spell of the Queen of Hearts, and placing her glove in his helmet had vowed never to sheathe the sword till he saw her restored to her rightful place. He served her, and for her sake Friedrich, with Quixotic devotion so long as his life lasted. He was a vehement Protestant, whose motto used to be "The Friend of God, the Foe of Priests"; but he changed it and took instead "For God and for Her."

So soon as the futile armistice had expired the Spaniards resumed operations in the Palatinate, quickly making

themselves masters of Alzei, Kreutznach, and Oppenheim. Only valiant Frankenthal held out, and repulsed them with severe loss; it was manned by Sir Horace Vere with English troops, as it was part of the dowry of Elizabeth. While the Spaniards ravaged the Rhenish Palatinate Mansfeld's mercenary army was plundering Alsace and the Breisgau, and laying such heavy requisitions on the inhabitants that they began to complain that they suffered more from their friends than from their enemies.

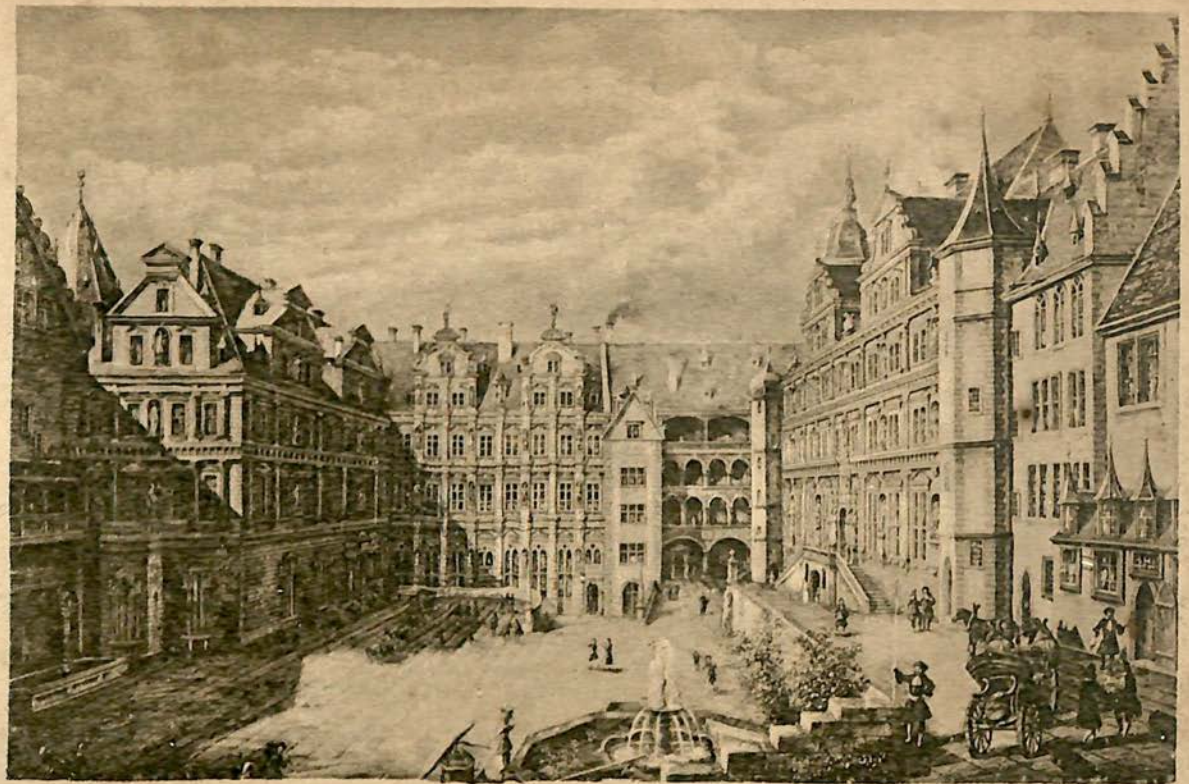
Soon it was the turn of the Neckar valley; the Bavarian troops under Tilly began to draw round Heidelberg, burning every village and laying waste cornfields and vineyards within a circuit of many miles. Neckargemünd was most cruelly destroyed and Dilsburg besieged, but that gallant little hill-fortress withstood the assault, and has never yet surrendered to an enemy. Terms of capitulation were offered, and its commander, Schmidt, had asked for three days to consider, when the welcome news arrived that Friedrich himself was with Mansfeld's army, and several regiments under the Margrave of Baden-Durlach were advancing to the relief of the town, whereupon Tilly withdrew to Sinsheim.

The sudden appearance of their Elector among them put new heart into the Palatinate, and hope flickered up once more. There was a touch of romance too in his coming which helped to kindle enthusiasm; he had left the Hague suddenly and betaken himself to the Court of France, hoping by personal representations to win Louis XIII. to his cause, but finding it vain departed in disguise and came with two attendants through Lorraine. Here an odd adventure befell him, for falling in with Imperialist forces late one evening he found himself compelled to hobnob with them, to drink to the success of their cause, and even to join in the laugh against the "Winter King" who had run away from Prague, but who, they said, was a handsome fellow barring a slight cast in his eye.* Getting safely off, he reached Mansfeld's camp in his own dominions, where his sudden coming quickened a zeal that

* *Memoirs of the Queen of Bohemia*, Miss Benger.

THE COURTYARD OF THE CASTLE IN THE TIME OF KARL LUDWIG.

Old Print.



ought to have accomplished much. But alas! jealousy between the commanders interposed at the critical moment; the Margrave of Baden-Durlach would not take orders from Mansfeld, and Mansfeld would not put himself under a man who knew much less of warfare than he did; the two armies failed to coalesce, and Tilly, who had joined with the Spanish Captain Cordova, separated them and routed the Margrave's cavalry, though Mansfeld got some advantage and appeared before Darmstadt, which opened its gates to him. Christian of Brunswick also succeeded in joining Mansfeld, but not till he had sustained a severe defeat at Höchst. The advantage of the junction, however, far outweighed the misfortune of the lost battle, for while he was carrying on a vague and semi-independent warfare he was winning no solid gain, and his troops were plundering and impoverishing the country for a subsistence.

Now was the moment for firm, steady, and united action, and Heidelberg might have been saved, but Friedrich had the supreme folly to pause and listen to negotiations to induce him to leave the Palatinate, and actually walked open-eyed into the snare, believing that after he had laid down his arms he might obtain as a free gift from his enemies what he now might have secured by force. He disbanded the forces under Mansfeld and Brunswick with fervent expressions of gratitude at the very moment when he might have made effective use of them. Later he met the two commanders at the Castle of Sedan to confer with them, but they were men of action, and saw that nothing was to be gained by conferences, so offered their swords to the Dutch. Christian, who had lost an arm, must have felt bitterly that his sacrifices had been in vain, but he did not give up the cause of the Queen of Hearts, and bided his time to draw the sword for her again.

And now, discouraged and dispirited, forsaken by its ruler, the Palatinate offered less and less resistance as the army of Tilly drew nearer and nearer to the capital. Mannheim, with its Huguenot population and its strong

position, was for a time a bulwark, but Tilly made himself master of Handschuhsheim and the heights of the Heiligenberg as far as to Stift Neuburg, commanding the town from that side of the river, and crossing the Neckar at Ladenburg, proceeded to invest the heights to the rear of the castle, and took several places on the Hardtgebirge to the south. From the Königstuhl his cannon commanded the town and castle, and when he had taken the two towers on the south and west, built by Friedrich the Victorious, and possessed himself of the fort which had been made out of the ruins of the old castle, the doom of both was sealed.

The town, after several days' siege, was taken by assault at five in the afternoon of 15 September, 1622. The Vorstadt quickly fell, but the Governor made a valiant attempt to preserve the old town with its strong towers and gateways; it was in vain, though he was nobly seconded by Pleikard, or Blikker Landschad von Steinach, who displayed distinguished valour. The slaughter was terrible; neither age nor sex were spared, for religious wars are of all most cruel. The church of the Holy Ghost narrowly escaped being burnt, but the books happily were preserved from destruction by Tilly who knew their value, and placed a guard round them till the Papal Legate arrived to fetch them away. Crushed as the inhabitants must have been, they still offered a sullen resistance to the removal of the treasured Library, making it almost impossible for Allazio to obtain either boards or nails for packing-cases nor any straw to pack them in. At last he got what he needed from the neighbourhood, using the old shelves from the church for crates, and the people watched in sullen silence the departure of the train of mules which were to carry the treasure across the Alps.

The Castle held out until the 19th, but its plight was hopeless, and the Commandant von Merv was compelled to capitulate, the garrison marching out with the honours of war. Though it had suffered severely, it had not been destroyed as it was later in the Orleans War. The rampart to the west, surmounted by Elizabeth's garden, was

hardly touched, though the English palace was terribly handled; the Saal Bau too was badly damaged, and a good deal of injury done to the east side of the Otto Heinrich Bau.

On November 4 Tilly took Mannheim; only faithful Frankenthal still remained. The whole Palatinate was now completely in the power of the Imperialists; Catholic rites were brought back into the churches, and the University, which had been so great a stronghold of Calvinism, was almost annihilated, for there were neither students nor professors. Lutherans were tolerated, but Calvinists found their only safety in flight. It had been agreed amongst the members of the League that Bavaria and Spain should divide the Palatinate, and between them they should root out the Protestant religion.

And now negotiations recommenced; at the Reichstag at Ratisbon an armistice was arranged, and the monstrous proposal made that, pending a settlement, Friedrich's one remaining stronghold of Frankenthal should, with Mannheim, be held by a Spanish garrison of the Infanta Isabella, to be returned to him when a decision had been arrived at. Friedrich probably felt himself too weak to resist, though by this time he might have had enough of his father-in-law's counsels of submission, and his allies should at least have stipulated that the fortresses should be put in the hands of a really neutral power—if such indeed existed. The last foothold of the Elector Palatine in his own dominions having been taken away, little consideration was afforded him. Ferdinand himself would not have been unwilling to reinstate him in the Rhenish Palatinate on his submission in the matter of Bohemia, but his allies were too strong for him. Maximilian exacted the Electorate, so Friedrich was condemned to forfeit that for his rebellion against his suzerain; and the Rhenish Palatinate, being already in the hands of the Bavarians, was suffered to remain in them, the Spaniards evacuating all but the fortresses of Mannheim and Frankenthal, which should have been restored; but since the negotiations were dragging on they were still held by the

garrisons, and on one pretext and another were kept until the end of the war.

A proposal was now made that Friedrich's eldest son might be betrothed to a daughter of the Emperor and brought up at Vienna in the Catholic Faith; but those who made it miscalculated if they thought that Friedrich, who on many points had shown himself so pliant, would consent on such a question. To him the Church of Rome was not merely a Church in error, but it was Anti-Christ, the Whore of Babylon, the very source of pollution; to give up a son to it would have been like sacrificing to Moloch. His whole life had been dedicated to resisting Rome; to buy back his own territories at the price of what must have seemed to him his son's apostasy would have been an outrage on honour and conscience of which he was quite incapable, and his wife was of one mind with him. James and Charles, who viewed the Church of Rome from a wholly different standpoint, would not have been at all averse to some such compromise, but the Puritans in England were up in arms at the suggestion, and it had to be dropped. A wild and foolish attempt to obtain help from the Turks did nothing but lay Friedrich open to the charge of treason in trafficking with the infidel, the hereditary foe of the Empire.

Meanwhile that faithful friend, Christian of Brunswick, was not idle, but travelled to London in the hope of negotiating an alliance between England, Holland, Denmark, and Savoy; but that too proved a castle in the air, and he only obtained a trifling aid for Mansfeld, which but served to keep the war simmering on without gaining any solid advantage. But Christian's wild career was nearly at an end; the great commander Wallenstein was now in the field, and against his genius the army of Mansfeld and Christian shattered themselves in vain. After a severe defeat Christian betook himself through Hungary to Venice in the forlorn hope of getting further help, when a fever overtook him and threw him on a sick-bed. Worn out and baffled though he was, his unconquerable spirit still upheld him; he rose from his bed,

had himself dressed in his parade uniform, and died standing, supported by two of his officers. His death was the deepest grief both to Elizabeth and to her husband, for in him they had lost the most loyal friend they had, and one who would never acknowledge that the game was up.

The years that followed were the most hopeless the exiles yet had known. The accession of Charles I. made little difference in the attitude of England, for though he was much concerned for his sister, and while in Spain had done all he could to promote her interests, his policy, like that of his father, was to keep his own country out of the maelstrom, and he was always too much crippled for funds himself to be able to give much effectual aid in money.

In this darkest hour it seemed that hope was once more to dawn, for there arose out of the North a new champion, Gustav Adolf, King of Sweden, who resolved to place himself at the head of the Protestant cause, and in the summer of 1630 arrived on the coast of Pomerania with a powerful army of a very different tone and temper to the mercenary hordes which had for the last ten years been laying waste the country, for his soldiers, like Cromwell's Ironsides, were largely permeated with religious enthusiasm. His victorious course through Pomerania quickly won allies to his standard; in January he made a treaty with France, and the following month at an assembly at Leipsic succeeded in the more difficult feat of uniting Lutherans and Calvinists. On his way he had met with the Electress Juliane at Berlin, and she had been of some service in smoothing matters with the Elector of Brandenburg, and also had influence with the Duke of Bouillon as well as with the Dutch princes. Saxony, too, was won over, and the task of getting the Protestants to make common cause, so long vainly attempted, was suddenly accomplished. Gustav Adolf stepped easily into the position held out ten years before to Friedrich, for he was endowed with the very qualities the Elector Palatine conspicuously lacked—a clear-seeing eye, a swift decision, an absolute self-reliance; personal courage and endurance

both had in a high degree, and the Swedish king possessed the gift of inspiring an enthusiastic devotion to his person. A haughty demand for the restitution of the Palatinate was addressed to the Emperor, and hostilities proceeded. The battle of Leipsic in September of the same year went far to break the power of the League, and the Swedes fought their way south-westward through Franconia and the Main province. By winter the inhabitants of the Palatinate began to lift up their heads, for Tilly's troops withdrew as the Swedes advanced along the Bergstrasse.

The spot chosen to cross the Rhine was just where legend places the treasure of the Nibelungs, and here the valiant king would have made the attempt in an open boat with only four attendants. In this he was foiled, but the next day succeeded in getting a force of five hundred men across, who went singing " Aus meines Herzens Grunde," and bravely held their position against the Spaniards till reinforcements could join them. The place of this exploit was marked by a pillar bearing the Swedish Lion holding a sword; it is still known as the Swedish column. Simmern, Bacharach, and Caub meanwhile were taken by the Rhinegrave, and Gustav Adolf quickly made himself master of Oppenheim and Alzei. Mannheim was taken by strategem on 29 December by Duke Bernard of Weimar; but Heidelberg still remained in the hands of the enemy. Protestantism was once more brought back to the Palatinate, and the preachers returned to gather together their scattered congregations.

It was high time that Friedrich should himself join the army that was winning back his possessions; money difficulties seem to have delayed him for a while, but early in 1632 he went to Frankfort for a meeting with Gustavus. Though fascinated by the heroic personality of the great commander, he was a good deal discouraged at perceiving that the interests of the Palatinate played quite a secondary part in the large plans the King of Sweden was maturing, and when they crossed his must go to the wall. The aims of Gustav were high, and probably reached to

the establishment of a Protestant Empire for Northern Europe, for which he, German by blood and sympathy, would have been a worthy candidate. Friedrich found that if his restoration was to come from the hand of Sweden he must be prepared to abandon the Bergstrasse and to promise full toleration to the Lutherans, always a sore point in the Palatinate. The hopes of Friedrich and Elizabeth had been very different; the Paladin of the North had not been untouched by the charm of the Queen of Hearts—once so nearly his own—and had vowed that he fought as her knight-errant; but he was not the man to let sentimental considerations interfere with high schemes; he was willing to aid Friedrich, but expected to make use of him, and was nowise minded to pull the chestnuts out of the fire for the Winter King.

Suddenly all plans were crossed, all hopes were quenched. The Emperor, alarmed at the victorious progress of the Swedes, had recalled the great Wallenstein, banished by the jealousy of Maximilian, and sulking in his tent. The imperial army, handled by a master of warfare, proved a far more formidable foe than heretofore. The battle of Lützen was won indeed by the Protestant allies, but a heavy price was paid for the victory; the Swedish king, the very soul of the army, lay dead upon the field. To the Elector Palatine this was the last blow; he lay sick of a fever when the news came—he had been suffering deep depression ever since the drowning of his eldest son, and had been much discouraged at finding how little he had to hope from his new ally—this final disappointment was more than he could bear. He lingered a fortnight, and died 19 November, 1632, at the early age of thirty-six.

Now indeed was Elizabeth desolate and bereaved, but with indomitable spirit she still tried to do what she could for the interests of her children. Her second son, Karl Ludwig, was still quite a boy, and was in the nominal guardianship of his uncle Ludwig Philip, a well-meaning person, but devoid of the great qualities which had distinguished so many guardian uncles in previous reigns;

practically Elizabeth acted as guardian. Ludwig Philip had not even been able to obtain the restitution of his own patrimony of Simmern, and left the attempt to recover the Palatinate in the hands of the Swedish army, which still fought on though deprived of its head. Gustav Adolf had left only a young daughter to succeed him, but his Chancellor Oxenstjern continued to carry on his policy in Germany.

The Swedes now held Mannheim and Dilsburg, and the Easter following the death of Friedrich made themselves masters of Heidelberg with little difficulty, attacking it simultaneously from Stift Neuburg and from the Wolfsbrunnen. The explosion of a redoubt on the east drove them back for a while, but on the morning of Easter Day the Bavarians marched out. Now at last there seemed hopes of restitution, and Rusdorf, Elizabeth's faithful councillor, who had indeed of late done far more than his master in endeavouring to obtain terms for the Palatinate, once more exerted himself to make an arrangement with the Swedish commander. But it seemed fated that whoever won, the Palatinate must lose; the Swedish stipulations were impossible. Oxenstjern insisted on retaining Frankenthal, Bacharach, Caub, Pfalz, and Mannheim, that is every stronghold of importance, and the Elector Palatine must pay half the cost of the war, when his mother and her family were living on the charity of relations. Lastly, equal treatment was to be accorded to both Protestant factions, and against this provision both sides, and especially the Calvinists, raised loud and indignant objections; while they quarrelled over it the Swedish army was badly beaten by Wallenstein's troops at Nordlingen, and all that Gustavus had won lost in a day. The defeated and demoralized Swedes streamed over the country and along the Bergstrasse, plundering as they went, and the young Elector's uncles protested in vain in a bitter and acrimonious correspondence with their ally the Swedish Chancellor. Soon the Bavarians reappeared before the gates of Heidelberg and took the town once more after a two hours' assault; the Castle

was surrendered by the Swedish commandant Abel Moda, but hardly had it been given up when the French crossed the Rhine to relieve it, and it had to endure yet another siege, in the course of which the Powder Tower was blown up and reduced to the condition which gave it its name of the Cleft Tower, being literally rent in two.

The war surged away to the northward, but Wallenstein was breaking the Swedish power in detail, while the French were failing to protect the Rhenish Palatinate, and only trying to establish themselves in Alsace. Well might the unhappy country complain that it suffered as much from its friends as from its foes. At length came the Treaty of Prague, but no one lifted a voice for the Palatinate, which found itself shut out from the amnesty. One by one its strong places had been taken away; Heidelberg was again surrendered by Moda; Kaiserslautern, Landstuhl, and at last Mannheim were once more in the hands of the League, for the treaty did not last long. The scene of the war was removed; indeed, the impoverished land no longer afforded any subsistence for the troops, and famine and pestilence ravaged what massacre had spared.

Undismayed, Elizabeth and the faithful Rusdorf never slackened in their efforts to recover the young Elector's rights. While the Swedes were in power she had some idea of sending him to the Palatinate, remembering how his father's presence there had once rekindled enthusiasm; but the defeat at Nordlingen upset these plans, and she dispatched him, at his uncle's invitation, to the English Court, where he was very kindly received and made much of—but of this more anon. Kind as Charles was to his nephew, he was neither able nor willing personally to espouse his cause, but he gave private countenance to the young Elector's wild attempt to win back his patrimony, and permitted Englishmen to enlist in the force he was gathering. Rupert, who had joined his brother in England, willingly fought by his side, but the attempt was utterly vain; Karl Ludwig's small army was routed, and he and his brother obliged to fly to Minden. Both

Counts Palatine showed distinguished bravery, but Karl Ludwig was too young to take the command and too haughty to brook dictation.

His next attempt was to win to his cause the army of Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar, which was at the moment idle in Alsace. King Charles was conducting some negotiation anent it, but the young Elector's impatience would not endure delay, so off he went, and instead of passing through Paris incognito must needs give himself the airs of a sovereign prince. Cardinal Richelieu, who was at this time the real power in France, had other views for the employment of Duke Bernard's troops, and, on the pretext that Karl Ludwig's breach of etiquette bore a sinister construction, made him a prisoner together with his three brothers. Maurice was shortly allowed to depart, but Edward and Philip were detained, and the Elector Palatine had to reside with the English ambassador, enjoying the pleasures of society, but still a prisoner; all this at his uncle's expense, to whom the whole affair was a very great annoyance.

After his release he had some faint hope of enlisting help at the Reichstag at Ratisbon, and Lord Arundel was sent to advocate his claim, while Sir Thomas Rowe pleaded for him in Vienna; the main difficulty was the utter impossibility of his raising the indemnity claimed, thirteen millions, and England withdrew her ambassador. Baffled once more, he returned discouraged to England; the rôle he played there belongs to another part of the story. For some years he lived in retirement at Windsor while the longed-for peace began to be seriously debated at Münster and Osnabrück, both sides being heartily sick of war, with resources utterly drained, while neither side could claim the advantage. The negotiations were long protracted, but at length the Peace of Westphalia was signed 24 October, 1648. Its provisions as regarded the Palatinate were that the Rhenish Palatinate should be restored to the Elector Palatine, and an eighth vote be created for him, making him last instead of first in the Electoral College. The Bergstrasse was to pass to May-

ence, Germersheim to Hesse, the Upper Palatinate with the senior Electoral voice to remain with Bavaria. It was but a shadow that was offered to Karl Ludwig, and many who knew his haughty temper doubted if he would take it; but adversity had taught him wisdom, and he was sick of exile. He accepted the humiliating terms in the spirit of the motto he caused to be engraved on the coin struck to commemorate his return: "Cedendo, non cedo." ("Ceding, I cede not.")

II

IN EXILE

THROUGH the long years of disaster the Palatinate family were growing up at the Hague in exile, in poverty, with plans for ever baffled and hopes for ever disappointed, yet gay, vigorous, clever, full of fun and frolic, and ever ready with new schemes to replace the old. For Elizabeth was not one to sit down and bewail her troubles; she had inherited from her beautiful grandmother, Mary of Scotland, not only the charm that won adherents to her cause, but the perfect health, the vitality, the unquenchable spirit that enabled her to make head against what would have crushed another woman. "I have cause enough to be sad," she says in one of her letters to her faithful friend Sir Thomas Rowe, "yett I am still of my wilde humour to be as merie as I can in spite of fortune."* One source of comfort never failed her; so long as he lived she was secure in the unalterable devotion of her husband; she was his first thought always, and to her he turned for consolation and encouragement when his own weaker spirit quailed. From that bright springtime when, little more than children, the young pair travelled side by side from England to their own dominions, through a pageant that was like a prolonged fairy tale, to the day of disaster and the long years of hope deferred, they were ever truest comrades sharing every thought, and when apart exchanged almost daily letters, which show how entire was the confidence between them. When Friedrich sank under his repeated misfortunes it did indeed seem that Elizabeth's cup of sorrow was full, yet soon she rallied her energies for the sake of

* Bromley's *Royal Letters.*

his sons, and she was sustained by the devotion of a band of loyal friends. Few women have had more trials heaped upon them; few have met them with a braver heart.

Of them all the enforced abandonment of the scarce-won crown was perhaps the lightest, though it meant the failure of ambition and of a cherished scheme; the loss of Friedrich's hereditary dominions and of their beautiful home must have cut much deeper, and the life at the Hague, dependent on the bounty of relations, must have had its moments of humiliation, though she put so brave a face on them; for the stairs are steep, the bread is bitter to the exile.

Ten of her thirteen children grew up; a little boy and girl died in infancy, and her youngest, Gustav, born near the time of his father's death and named after the Swedish hero, was always delicate, and closed his fragile life at nine years old. But the most crushing sorrow of any, the private grief which outweighed all their misfortunes, fell on her and Friedrich in the winter of 1629, saddest year of any, in the death by drowning of the Crown Prince Henry, just verging on manhood, a lad of as high promise as the young uncle after whom he was named. Like that young uncle he delighted in ships and in naval affairs, and his father, whose constant companion he was, took him to the Zuydersee to see the Spanish galleons just taken by the Dutch. The harbour was crowded with shipping, and in the dusk the yacht in which they were was run down and sank in a moment with all on board. The King, who clung to a rope, was rescued, but Henry was washed away, and his drowning cry, "Save me, father!" rang in Friedrich's ears and haunted him on his death-bed.

Those years, from the death of her son till after that of her husband, during which she had to shut away her own grief that it might not add to Friedrich's self-reproach, and through which she had to watch the dawning and the flickering out of the hopes built on the coming of the Swedes, and found herself at last left alone to uphold a lost cause, must have been the bitterest of all for Elizabeth, yet her buoyant spirit recovered, and with the aid

of her faithful servants, William Lord Craven and the Palatinate Chancellor Rusdorf, we find her exerting every power to forward the cause of her second son Karl Ludwig, now Elector Palatine.

The Palatinate family were all good letter writers, and the easy, unaffected correspondence of three generations helps the reader to know them like personal friends; moreover the pen of the youngest daughter, Sophie, later Electress of Hanover, has in her memoirs sketched a vivid picture of the family life at the Hague and the brilliant group of handsome, witty, high-spirited brothers and sisters. First come sweet little childish letters from Henry to his aunt Catherine, in whose charge his brother Karlutz, as they called Karl Ludwig, and little sister Elizabeth had been left on the departure for Bohemia, and who had remained at Berlin with their grandmother and aunt together with baby Maurice until such time as their mother was settled at the Hague and realized that her home would be there. Henry writes affectionate messages to his little sister: "I wish for nothing so much as that I may see her again, with all happy things around her at dear Heidelberg." He sends little presents—a pair of gloves and a silver pen to his aunt, a little heart-shaped trinket to his sister, and in a letter to his brother describes a fine bow and arrows that had been given him which he would like to send, but fears lest they fall into the hands of the enemy. In a letter to his grandfather, the King of England, he says: "I have two horses, a black one and a brown one; they can go up my stairs."

When the children rejoined their mother, the little Elizabeth had grown into a prim little maiden of eight years old, very clever and very sedate, and was rather laughed at by her great-uncle Maurice; both she and Karlutz showed traces of the stricter bringing up of the grandmother and aunt, and were never quite so easy and joyous as the rest. Karl Ludwig indeed, who showed rather a queer temper, got the nickname of Timon from his brothers and sisters.

Elizabeth, however, had no idea of turning her Court

into a nursery; the boys were sent under a tutor to Leyden, where when old enough they could attend the University, and a house was given her in the same town, where the younger children were established under the care of their father's old governess aided by two daughters. Sophie, who had a somewhat caustic pen, remarks that her mother preferred the antics of her dogs and monkeys to those of her babies, and Elizabeth was of too individual a temperament to be the ideal self-effacing mother of the nursery; but it may be questioned whether she did not do better for her children in the long run by keeping up her brilliant and cultivated little Court to which they were admitted so soon as they were old enough, and having them brought up in quiet and seclusion at a little distance. Quiet and seclusion were by no means to the taste of the lively little princess Sophie, neither was the Heidelberg Catechism, of which they all had considerable doses. Theology, according to precedent, was made a staple of their education, and on every Sunday two divines were invited to dine at their table. Etiquette was very strictly observed, and Sophie describes with some humour the number of curtsies she was obliged to make to her brothers, the guests, and the gentlemen and ladies-in-waiting before she was allowed to seat herself at table.

Lessons, except the Catechism, were no trouble to the children, who were quick-witted enough and inherited the love of books on both sides. For languages they had especial talent, but Rupert, who at three years old could prattle in German, Bohemian, and Dutch, possibly English too, to the delight of his father, declined the dead languages, choosing to devote himself rather to modern tongues which would be of practical service to him, and taking especial pains with mathematics and military tactics; he, like his sister Louise, had a marked talent for art. At thirteen he made his first campaign under the guardianship of his uncle Maurice.

As the children grew up they were transplanted to the freer life of their mother's Court, which they were well

fitted to adorn. Prince Maurice the Statthalter was a bachelor, so Elizabeth's house was the chief social centre at the Hague until the marriage of her niece Mary with the young William of Orange. Sir Dudley Carleton, the English Ambassador, was a frequent visitor, and there was a constant stream of young noblemen from England, anxious to offer their swords to the Queen of Hearts till the Great Rebellion gave them occupation at home. Elizabeth was sometimes a little sarcastic about these knights-errant. "I am seldom without a fool to make me sport," she says in one letter; "when one goes another comes."

The four daughters were all well-looking and talented, but not one so attractive as the mother. Elizabeth, the eldest, was tall and straight, with regular features and rather a high colour—a red nose, cruelly immortalized by her mischievous sister, a great affliction to her despite her philosophy. Hardly handsome, and, if her portraits do not belie her, of a somewhat wooden expression, but a woman of very remarkable understanding, the friend of Descartes, who had a high opinion of her powers, and said of her that she grasped in a moment philosophical conceptions which he could explain with difficulty to men of learning. She had a very intimate friend in the renowned Anna Schurmann, who was called the Dutch Minerva, and understood Hebrew and Arabic as well as Greek and Latin. The princess was considered equally learned, and found much solace in the company and correspondence of these two friends when the society gathered about her mother was too frivolous for her taste. A marriage was proposed for her with a Polish prince, but it fell through since she was firmly resolved not to turn Catholic, and in this resolution she had the cordial support of her mother. She was far better suited for a single life, and was eventually made Coadjutrix, later Abbess of Herford, once a nunnery, and after the dissolution made into an institution for well-born women. It formed quite a miniature principality, and here she ruled over some seven thousand subjects with justice and discretion; but

contrary to expectation, instead of becoming under her the nursing-ground of the Cartesian Philosophy, it was rather the home of the mystic teaching of Tauler, Suso, and Eckhart, which was the outcome of the more spiritual side of high Lutheranism. The Labbadists also found a protector in Elizabeth, her lifelong friend, Anna Schurmann, having embraced that doctrine.

The second daughter, Louise, was not considered so handsome, but had a softer, more pleasing expression; she was devoted to painting, for which she showed considerable talent; she studied under Honthorst, and succeeded so well that her work is occasionally mistaken for his, and some of the portraits attributed to him are thought to have been by the princess. It would be interesting to know whether she had any hand in the portrait of her mother in middle age and of Lord Craven, now in the National Gallery in London. There seems something a little amateurish in the handling, especially of the former. She remained her mother's companion for many years after brothers and sisters had gone out into the world, but becoming convinced of the claims of the Catholic Church, and knowing Elizabeth's strong feeling in the matter—for to her such a step in one of her children must seem treachery to their father's memory—she left the house privately and repaired to Paris to her brother Edward, already a Catholic, and was received into the Church, becoming later Abbess of Maubuisson. The letter she left on her toilet table to explain what she had done was not immediately found, and the Queen was distracted with anxiety; moreover the secrecy of the step led to certain disagreeable scandals being circulated, which added greatly to the distress of her family. Some years later her sister Sophie's memoirs describe a visit to her in Paris, and show her leading a contented, peaceful, and saintly life.

Henriette, the prettiest of the sisters, was married to a Transylvanian prince, and died a few months after her marriage.

The youngest, Sophie, the best known in England,

became the mother of the Hanoverian line. Her lively letters and memoirs give a vivid idea of her—pretty, graceful, sprightly, with not a little of her mother's high spirits. "I was so gay," she says of herself in youth, "that everything amused me"; and the same mirthful spirit carried her through her long life. Witty she was, with Elizabeth's quick sense of the ludicrous, but without either her warm heart or her father's gentleness. As a child she was not so pretty as her little brother Gustav, who, though so sickly, was a very lovely child, and she rather resented the remarks made by her mother's visitors upon her thinness, when on occasion the two little ones were brought to the Hague to be displayed—"like a stud of horses," as she indignantly said. She was always a great pet of her elder brother, Karl Ludwig, and was made much of by English visitors, Sir Harry Vane, at whose long chin she mocked, or Lord Craven, at whom the whole family laughed, calling him "the little mad my lord," but to whom they turned in every difficulty or need, for his purse was ever open to them, and no trouble was too great, no task too arduous for him to undertake on behalf of Elizabeth or her children. His devotion to the Queen had in it much of the same Quixotic quality that kept that of Christian of Brunswick on so high a plane: both wished only to serve her, and neither looked for a reward; the rumours which arose later of a private marriage between Lord Craven and the widowed Queen were entirely unsubstantiated, but without his chivalrous aid, his counsel, his money, her position would have been far more desolate than it was.

Spite of all troubles, and not seldom the actual pinch of poverty, it was a merry life the large family led; in summer they went to a pleasant hunting lodge at Rhenen on the Rhine, and enjoyed boating, fishing, hunting, shooting; for they all loved horses and dogs and a free, open-air life. In winter quarters they beguiled themselves with private theatricals, for which they had marked talent. Sophie at nine years old was very proud of being entrusted with a part in the play of Medea. Once out

KARL LUDWIG: ELECTORAL PRINCE.

SOPHIE: PRINCESS PALATINE.

From Prints by Ziesenis and Houthorst in the Castle Museum.

Photo. by Ed. v. König.

of the clutches of old Madame de Ples and her daughters, Court etiquette sat very lightly upon them, and their romps and practical jokes seriously discomposed a deputation of Puritan divines who came to condole with their mother, and were disposed rather to offer condolences on their behaviour, doubtless to her great amusement, for she was as fond of jokes as any of them.

Even the elder ones were too young to remember Heidelberg except as a faint vision, but when their father died they were of an age to realize what they had lost. He had been devotedly loved by his children, especially by his boys, for in spite of his increasing depression and irritability he took pleasure in their unfolding talents and manly beauty, and made constant companions of them. The four elder were desolated at the news, but the five-year-old Philip could not understand Rupert's tears, and asked: "Is the battle lost then, because the King is dead?" To the boys it must have seemed that all was lost, for they were none of them old enough to fight for their own rights. Together they indited a pathetic little letter to their uncle, King Charles:—

> "We commit ourselves and the protection of our rights into your gracious arms, humbly beseeching your Majesty to look upon us as those who have neither friends, nor fortune, nor greater honour in this world than belongs to your royal blood. Unless you please to maintain that in us God knoweth what may become of your Majesty's nephews,
>
> "CHARLES, RUPERT,
> "EDWARD, MAURICE."*

Charles responded very kindly, and as soon as their mother could bring herself to part with them, invited them to England, where they were warmly welcomed and made much of, and till the outbreak of the rebellion had all the advantages of a sojourn in one of the most refined Courts of Europe. Karl Ludwig was at first the favourite, very handsome, with all the cultivation and good-

* *Rupert, Prince Palatine*, Eva Scott.

breeding that distinguished his family, and far less shy than Rupert and Maurice; he made a most favourable impression, and many, with the King's consent, lent him aid in his wild and unpractical attempt to recover his patrimony. Rupert at first was rather drawn in with the Catholic faction. He made great friends with Endymion Porter and was constantly at his house, and Mrs. Porter being a Catholic convert, his elder brother in a rather priggish letter to his mother points out the danger to Rupert's Protestant principles. Porter took a great interest in the project for setting up a colony in Madagascar with Rupert as a kind of rajah, but this scheme Elizabeth would not hear of. "I will not have a son of mine," she said, "play the knight-errant," little knowing that that would be the fate of all her sons, none but the selfish Karl Ludwig ever attaining the position to which their birth entitled them. The scheme fell through, and an attempt to marry Rupert to Marguerite de Rohan met with no better success; Rupert would none of her, nor would his brother Maurice, to whom she was subsequently suggested. To repair their fortunes by a prudent marriage did not commend itself to either of them.

Maurice was just Rupert's shadow; of a graver temper, but no less accomplished either as courtier or as soldier, he followed him in all things rather than the cold and calculating Karl Ludwig, and the bitterest grief of Rupert's sorely tried life was the loss of Maurice in a storm on the high seas during the long voyage they took with the royalist fleet after the success of the rebellion, the bitterer that his fate was never certainly known. Like the rest of his family Maurice was handsome and tall; a childish little passage in one of Karl Ludwig's letters to his mother refers to his height: "I sent you by him (Dingley) the measure of my true height without any heels. I believe your Majesty sent for it because they think my brother Maurice as high as myself."

But the story of Rupert and Maurice belongs to English history; the part played by their brother was very different. It is impossible to acquit him of ingratitude,

though perhaps it is hardly fair to accuse him of hypocrisy in the line he took. Not only did he never draw the sword for his uncle, but he negotiated with the Parliament, and profited by their bounty; he sat in the Conference at Westminster amongst the Puritan divines, and as a reward for his complaisance obtained a grant of the money due to his mother, which she indignantly refused to touch. It is just to remember that this was the party which had always been in sympathy with the religious aims of his own country, and his early bringing up by his more strictly Calvinistic grandmother may have had its effect; yet his later conduct, when it was a question of obtaining political advantage by his daughter's change of religion, reflects somewhat on the purity of his motives. The King only remarked with quiet dignity that he was sorry for his nephew's sake that he thought fit to act in such a manner. When the rebels had condemned the King, the Elector Palatine made some attempt to obtain a mitigation of the sentence, but would not commit himself so far as to seek a farewell interview. Charles, in expressing his wish to see none but his children in his brief remaining hours, said to Sir Thomas Herbert: "I know that my nephew, the Prince-Elector, will endeavour it and some other lords that love me, which I would take in good part, but my time is short and precious." The Prince-Elector, however, was too anxious not to disoblige the Parliament to make any such endeavour.

The two younger sons were brought up chiefly in France. Edward was less tall than his brothers and had a round face, but the family brown eyes, and far less energy than they. To the infinite grief and disappointment of his mother he became a Catholic and married Anne de Gonzagua, who after his death continued to reside in Paris, and was known as the Princesse Palatine. Philip, the youngest boy, high-spirited and warlike like the rest, found a soldier's grave. He too incurred his mother's displeasure. A French refugee, the Marquis d'Epinay, a man of bad character, but of a good deal of charm, had become a visitor at the Court of the Queen of Bohemia,

who, always impulsive, was perhaps indiscreet in permitting his attentions; his visits were talked of and the young Counts Palatine hotly resented them. Meeting Philip alone one evening, the Marquis grossly insulted both him and his mother. Not staying for any formal challenge, the lad, who was but eighteen, rushed furiously upon the Frenchman and plunged his hunting knife into his heart. Elizabeth would not admit that her honour had been impugned, and was furiously indignant with her son, though both brothers and sisters took his part, and the Princess Elizabeth left her mother's house in much indignation. Philip was compelled to leave the Hague, and entered the Venetian service, in which not long after he died.

It seemed that restoration to happiness was never to be the lot of poor Elizabeth; the very winter that saw the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia, which should restore her son to his dominions, was that in which her brother's head fell on the scaffold. How could she rejoice when her own country was mourning? She must have looked forward to returning to the home of her early married life and exchanging the exile's bread for that of her own child; but the cold and selfish policy of Karl Ludwig could find no room for his mother. He wrote that the Castle was quite unfit for her reception, and though he occasionally invited her to come he made it impossible for her to do so, for he would not send her money enough to pay her debts, and without doing that she could not leave the Hague. So she continued her prolonged exile, lonely now without any of her children, for the Elector invited his two sisters, Elizabeth and Sophie, to join him at Heidelberg, and Louise forsook her.

At length, on the Restoration, her nephew, Charles II., invited her to England, and her faithful Lord Craven gave her a home. He put his London house at her disposal, and was preparing Combe Abbey, the home of her childhood, for her reception, but before it was ready for her she died in February, 1662, ending a long tale of sorrows borne with high courage.

III

RESTORATION

THIRTY long years had passed since Friedrich and Elizabeth in the bloom of their youth and the height of prosperity had driven away through the gates of Heidelberg to take possession of their promised crown, and now the gates were to open once more to receive the long-banished Elector. Not the little prince who had gone away with his parents, kissing his hand with shining eyes to the crowds who assembled to watch the departure—father and son had passed away in exile—it was the baby Karl Ludwig, now grown into a stern man of middle age, who came back to rule over the bereaved and desolate land. He had left in hurried flight with his grandmother when the League was threatening the town, and he could hardly remember it in the days of its prosperity.

All Germany had been devastated by that long and terrible war; it was computed that more than half, possibly nearly two thirds, of the population had perished; the land had been left untilled, for where was the use of ploughing and sowing for the mercenary troops to ravage and burn? Famine and pestilence had dogged the steps of war, and the miserable inhabitants who remained dragged out a precarious hand-to-mouth existence, hardly caring to build themselves any dwellings better than mud huts to shelter them from the weather. In the Palatinate things were at their very worst, for the chief seat of the war had been there: their ruler's misdoings had been heavily visited on his unhappy subjects; their woods had been cut down, their cornfields and vineyards laid waste, and of their houses scarcely one stone remained upon another.

It was perhaps small wonder that Karl Ludwig was in no haste to return to his inheritance, but bade his uncle Ludwig Philip, who had already recovered his own patrimony of Simmern and Lautern, resume his post of Administrator for a few months while he went a-wooing. It was at Cassel that he sought a wife; probably he had already been attracted by Charlotte, daughter of the widowed Landgravine of Hesse, and now felt in a position to ask for her hand. She was a handsome, high-spirited girl, very much spoilt, and with a hot temper she had never learned to control. He was much in love and very urgent, and overbore her objections, though she made no secret of the fact that she preferred another suitor, the Duke of Wurtemberg. The Elector Palatine, however, obtained her promise and that of her mother, and went his way to take possession of his dominions.

For a short while he delayed at Nuremberg while the foreign troops, both enemies and allies, were got with some trouble out of the Palatinate; but at length Heidelberg and Mannheim were freed of them, though it was some time yet ere the Spanish garrison could be dislodged from Frankenthal or the French from Bruchsal. It was not till the beginning of October, 1649, nearly a year after the signing of the Peace, that Karl Ludwig made his public entry on horseback into Mosbach, the first of his towns which he reached, and was received by the inhabitants with tears of joy rather than shouts of triumph. His first act was to attend a solemn service of thanksgiving in the church. On the 7th he reached Heidelberg; it must have been with mixed feelings that he rode through the poverty-stricken villages on the road and looked up at the once lordly castle, now partially unroofed, several of its towers lying in ruins, its beautiful gardens a wilderness, and all its splendid rooms left for long years to damp and decay. "There is hardly a corner fit for habitation," he wrote to his mother, who we may be sure was looking eagerly for news of her old home, and impatiently waiting for a summons to join her son there.

He had come back a poor man to an impoverished land,

and there could be no splendour of reception such as had greeted his mother on her wedding journey. Heartfelt congratulations doubtless there were, and hopes half apprehensive of what the new ruler would do. And now Karl Ludwig showed the finer qualities that belonged to his somewhat strange and complex nature. The parsimony which long years of poverty and struggle had bred in him was not allowed to cripple any measures of important and useful reform, but made him the most capable manager of finance the Palatinate had seen since Casimir's day. In his personal expenditure he was most self-denying; he rebuilt the Castle by degrees, but he was careful not to suffer the necessary taxation for raising funds to fall oppressively upon his poorer subjects, but introduced legacy duties and such measures as ensured the better-off taking their fair share of burdens. The need for economy may to some extent excuse his hardness to his mother; he felt his first duty was to his impoverished country, and he well knew Elizabeth had all the extravagance of a Stuart, while he himself had not that just pride that would have forbidden him to leave his mother a burthen on the charity, however joyfully bestowed, of Lord Craven.

His first care was to repopulate waste lands and bring them under cultivation, and to encourage the rebuilding both of the town and of the surrounding villages. To this end he made many excellent regulations: whoever restored an old house was to have his taxes remitted for two years, whoever built a new one, for three. Colonists from England, Holland, and Switzerland were encouraged to settle, to take up farms or establish manufactures, and complete freedom of worship was permitted them. Karl Ludwig was of a far more tolerant temper than his forefathers, more a man of the world, possibly more indifferent to religion than had been the enthusiastic but narrow-minded Friedrich V. He not only tolerated Anabaptists, as his ancestor Friedrich III. had done, but Jews and even Catholics were left unmolested in the exercise of their religion. Within a year improvement began to show itself; the land was so fertile it responded to cultivation directly

it was left unmolested, and the Comte de Grammont, who had seen it in its desolate condition in 1646, was quite amazed a few years later to find it in smiling plenty. The town too began to look very different as solid well-built houses took the place of blackened ruins, for under a settled government it seemed once more worth while to take trouble; and commerce too began to lift up its head. As the trade and population increased the revenue, of course, went up, and there was more to spend both on the Castle, which began to resume something of its former stateliness, and on the University, which the war had almost annihilated.

Karl Ludwig was no whit behind his ancestors in his care for this, the chief glory of his capital, and began at once to endeavour to recover the property scattered in the war, and to recall such of the professors as were still living. Professor von Spina, who had saved the archives in the sack of the Library, came on his summons and was of great use in reconstituting the University body. They recommenced modestly with only seven professors, but they were men of eminence, among whom were Tossanus, Heinrich David, Chuno, and Jakob Israel, and within a very few years the fame of these drew more, and the teaching staff regained all its old prestige. Students soon flocked in, for now settled times were coming again people bethought them of educating their sons in the liberal arts, instead of suffering them, as they had done for years past, to grow up uncouth and unlettered, to become soldiers of fortune under Mansfeld or Bernard of Saxe-Weimar. The Elector acted prudently in fixing the matriculation fee very low, at ten kreutzers, that his subjects should not plead their poverty as an excuse for their ignorance. Already, in 1652, the matriculations reached the respectable number of a hundred and nineteen. A new Senate and Rector were appointed, and a Procurator Fisci, whose task can have been none of the lightest, since much of the property anciently settled on the University had been lost, and after long lapse of years was not to be recovered.

In one point Karl Ludwig showed that the experience

of the long religious war had not been lost upon him; instead of making the whole University Calvinist, as his father would have done, he decreed that only the Theological Faculty need be of the State Religion, the rest were not even obliged to be Protestant.

A good many very strict regulations were made touching the dress and behaviour of the students, needful, no doubt, after the time of licence that was past; they were forbidden to hunt, and efforts were made to put down the Town and Gown rows which, as of old, were ever ready to flame forth. They were not to wear gay and particoloured garments, nor to be out at night; much the same rules, in fact, were enacted as by Friedrich I. The reopening ceremony took place on 1 November, 1651, in the Philosophic Lecture Hall. The seven new professors were present with the Elector Palatine and his Court and a considerable gathering of strangers. From thence they went in procession to the church of the Holy Ghost, where an inaugural service was held, returning to the Jurist Hall for another speech, and ending with a banquet at the Castle.

One of the worst injuries to the University had been the complete loss of its Library, and for the return of this the Elector negotiated repeatedly, sending Ezekiel Spanheim, his librarian, to Rome to make representations, but in vain —fortunately, as the event showed, for had the books been restored they must all have perished in the Orleans War, which spared nothing; as it was, they were preserved in safety in the Vatican till, many years later, the Treaty of Vienna gave them back to Heidelberg, though minus several of the MSS.; the only one Karl Ludwig could obtain was the diary of his grandfather Friedrich IV. Foiled in his attempt, he resolved to found a new Library, and decreed that a certain sum yearly was to be set aside for the purchase of books. He also employed agents in various parts of the world to hunt up MSS. and coins to form a nucleus for a fresh collection. He recovered certain MSS. and books that had been saved by borrowers, and housed them in the upper rooms of the Prytaneum.

He showed himself in all respects an excellent organizer; such was the economy of his administration and his skill in adjusting taxation that in spite of all that the country had suffered, though the revenue steadily increased, the people were less oppressed than at any time since a regular system of taxation had been introduced. He was too wise a man to kill the goose who laid the golden eggs by putting burdens too heavy to be borne on the shoulders of the cultivators of the soil. Even his game laws, though strict, were not nearly so hard upon the people as they became in the following century. Wild beasts were not to be preserved to the injury and danger of country folk, but wolves were to be hunted to extermination. His police regulations for the town and provisions for maintaining order in the streets were excellent, and he was exceedingly strict in dealing with drunkards and putting down houses of ill-fame.

Before the French War he had doubled his revenue, and that although he had considerable trouble in recovering lapsed rights of taxation and various disputed portions of the original property. About Ladenburg and Worms he had some strife with Hesse; the latter place he wished to fortify and make a stronghold to protect his Rhenish property, but the town foolishly preferred its semi-independence as an episcopal city, thereby weakening both itself and the Palatinate when the war with France came. He rebuilt the citadel of Friedrichsburg at Mannheim and encouraged the Walloon manufacturers to return and rebuild the ruined town; in a few years the population had gone up to twelve thousand.

It would have been well if Karl Ludwig would have conducted himself with as much discretion in foreign affairs, but his hot temper very nearly led to the outbreak of a fresh edition of the Thirty Years War. The death of Ferdinand should have left the Vicariate of the Empire to the Elector Palatine by ancient right and custom, but the dignity was claimed by the Duke of Bavaria as going with the senior vote; it had become a mere empty honour, and perhaps Karl Ludwig's good

sense would have led him to waive his right, but at the Diet of Frankfort the Bavarian representative, in claiming the Vicariate on his master's behalf, made use of such insulting expressions towards the late Elector Palatine that the son, infuriated, flung the inkstand in his face. Had not both parties been so exhausted by the late war no doubt hostilities would have followed, and Karl Ludwig placed troops along his south-eastern frontier to be ready for the worst; but all felt war was to be avoided at any cost, and the insult was suffered to pass.

He nearly embroiled himself also with the Upper Palatinate, which, having by the Peace of Westphalia passed to the Sulzbach line, had become Catholic. To interfere in this matter seemed a breach of his boasted principle of toleration, but he made a demonstration and marched an army to Weiden; but this matter too ended in nothing worse than threats.

The condition of the Church in the Palatinate was at this time very peculiar owing to its many forcible changes, and it was well that the new ruler was a wide-minded man, not wedded to one special form, and one who did not mean by religious liberty, liberty for his own views with licence to persecute those of other people, the conception which had been in vogue amongst both sections of Protestants for a century past. His aim really was freedom of worship as modern days understand it, and he did not intend that any man in his dominions should be persecuted for his faith. His ideal of complete equality and harmony was indeed a Utopian one. He tried to give it practical expression in the church he built at Mannheim and named the Concordia, in which he intended that all three Confessions—Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed—should have equal rights; he would fain have had them join in one act of worship, but that was beyond hoping for, and he had to be content with lending to each in turn.

His plan in country villages where there was but one church of allowing Catholics and Protestants to use it at different times, the two bodies of Protestants agreeing on a common form of worship, worked fairly well; it con-

tinued through the Catholic reigns of the Sulzbach branch, and still obtains with wonderfully little friction beyond an occasional grumble. Had he forcibly taken the churches from Catholics and Lutherans and Calvinized them he would but have laid up trouble for future years. He himself, though bred a Calvinist and adhering to the Heidelberg Catechism, was by no means ill-disposed to Lutheranism; his morganatic marriage was celebrated according to Lutheran rites, and he laid the foundation of the Providence church in Heidelberg for the Lutherans.

Church questions were complicated for the Palatinate by the provisions of the Peace of Westphalia, which took no account of the exceptional circumstances there. It was obvious that some limit must be placed beyond which lost rights and property of religious bodies could not be reclaimed, and the year 1624 was fixed upon as the normal year. This falling after the siege of Heidelberg and the passing of the Palatinate into the hands of the League bore hardly on the Protestant, and especially on the Calvinist interest; for the Lutherans had been suffered to remain, but three hundred and fifty Reformed pastors had been banished, their churches closed or handed over to the Catholics; therefore the appeal to the normal year gave them back nothing. So Karl Ludwig obtained from the Emperor leave to restore to them certain churches, since the number of Catholics was so greatly diminished that fewer churches would suffice them, and recalled such as had survived, though many had in these long years died in exile, and gradually the Reformed worship was brought back. The Spanish and Bavarian troops of course had gone, many Catholic families had left, fearing reprisals on the restoration, and many who had outwardly conformed to the dominant religion were very willing to return to that which they had formerly professed.

Much was done for the poor in the establishment of schools and hospitals, and a curious experiment was tried of setting up a Protestant nunnery at Stift Neuburg, anciently a convent, and later the dowry of Karl Ludwig's grandmother. The work of the old convents must

have been greatly missed, especially during such a time of poverty and suffering as that which followed the war, and moreover in those disordered days there was need of a refuge for unmarried women. So under the Elector's auspices a number of well-born ladies formed themselves into a community, taking the name of the Union of Virtuous Women. The prescribed age was between twenty-five and fifty; they took a vow of celibacy and admitted no men to the house. They devoted themselves much to study as well as to charity, and set before them as an object to make a stand against the growing frivolity of the age. Their discipline was very mild, and the regulations approved by Karl Ludwig are rather amusing. They might dress as they pleased, but were forbidden to paint their eyebrows or to flirt when visiting their friends. Sermons he ordained were to be short, and the ladies were to be discouraged from indulgence in too much speculation. Probably he thought women are sufficiently prone by nature to argue, especially on religious themes. He may have been helped in the arrangement of this institution by his sister Elizabeth, who was soon called to preside over a somewhat similar one at Herford. He took a great interest in it, and one of his daughters by Luise von Degenfeld became a member of it. Unwisely the vow of celibacy was relaxed, after which the institution fell to pieces; the house was subsequently made into an almshouse, and later passed into the hands of the Jesuits. It is now private property belonging to Baron von Bernus, and in the last century was distinguished by the visits of Goethe, of whom many relics are preserved there.

From time to time the results of the war were still felt in periods of scarcity, for trade was for a long time disorganized, and prosperity could hardly come back at a call. Karl Ludwig's self-denying economy and paternal care for his peasantry go far to excuse the traits of personal meanness he sometimes showed. With all his faults he did very well deserve, at least in the early part of his reign, the title bestowed on him by his grateful people, the Restorer of his Country.

IV

KARL LUDWIG AT HOME

IF it is difficult to form a just estimate of Karl Ludwig as a ruler, since his foreign policy frustrated all that his excellent internal administration had so hardly re-established, and its effects annihilated what the earlier years of his reign had built up, still less is it easy to understand his personal character with its strange contradictions. It was not that he had the defects of his qualities, but apparently incompatible propensities strove for the mastery in him. He was capable of ardent affection and of an incredible coldness; his hot temper was combined with a sullen unforgiving disposition that made quarrelling with him fatal. A man who throws dishes and inkstands at the heads of those who affront him and boxes his wife's ears in public is usually swift to forgive, but Karl Ludwig cherished a grudge his life long. His passionate warmth could turn to a cruel harshness; his haughtiness was consistent with a certain meanness; his indulgent partiality for one child was balanced by an unkind neglect of the other; his hardness towards his mother by an almost fatherly tenderness for his youngest sister. In spite of all his fondness for Luise von Degenfeld and her children, he neglected to make any provision for them, the more remarkable in a man who was never careless in money matters. In his conduct towards the uncle who had shown him so much kindness in his youth, and towards the brother who had so valiantly fought for him in his early boyish attempt to win back his country by the sword, he showed both ingratitude and jealousy.

And all this is to be gathered not so much from the

detractions of his enemies, nor from the dispassionate pages of the historians, but most from the graphic pen of his favourite sister, ever ready to excuse his errors, and speaking of "my brother, the Elector," as the first of created beings.

The year after his restoration his marriage with Charlotte of Hesse was celebrated, and he brought home his bride, not to the Castle, hardly yet habitable, but to a house in the town called the Commissariat House. Life seemed to open very hopefully for the young pair, for the bridegroom was deeply in love if the bride was not, and with his advantages should have been able to win her. He was at this time a singularly handsome man in the prime of life, just thirty-four, very tall, slender, and graceful, with Stuart high-breeding, and though not talkative by nature, somewhat taciturn indeed, an excellent talker when he chose to exert himself, well informed and cultivated in no common degree. This last advantage was perhaps somewhat thrown away on Charlotte, who loved hunting, cards, and her clothes, and could talk of little beyond. She was greedy of admiration and notice, but her husband's fondness, too much displayed in public, his sister thought, rather bored her. Sophie describes her as very good-looking, tall, with a finely developed figure and brilliant complexion; her eyes and eyebrows were dark in strong contrast to her flaxen hair, her mouth full and pouting. Her want of good sense and good taste were shown by her enlarging to her young sister-in-law on the first arrival of the latter on her admirers and the various brilliant matches she might have made. But if she plumed herself upon her conquests it was only from a shallow vanity, for her conduct was always irreproachable. If it had been otherwise Sophie would have been the first to lay it bare as a justification for her brother.*

For after a few months Karl Ludwig, a little wearied perhaps with his attempts to win a response to his affection, feeling also that something was due to his own family, still left in exile, invited his youngest sister to

* *Memoirs of Sophia, Electress of Hanover*, translated by H. Forester.

Heidelberg. The Queen of Bohemia was very anxious for a match between Sophie and her cousin Charles II., also in exile at the Hague, and as it was very desirable for him to marry a Protestant princess several persons were endeavouring to forward it, but the two chiefly concerned did not take kindly to the idea, and it aroused so much jealousy and cabal it seemed as well she should be away for a time. So she was dispatched to her brother's Court with her two ladies-in-waiting, Mistress Withypole and her sister Mistress Cary, under the charge of the faithful Lord Craven. She had never before been farther than Rhenen, and dreading the long land journey, borrowed a pinnace from the States in which to sail up the Rhine, still as ever the pleasantest way of reaching Heidelberg.

We must not linger over her lively account of her journey. She stopped at many places on the route, first at Düsseldorf, and was there received by the Duke of Neuburg, the Catholic Count Palatine, whose son subsequently succeeded to the Palatinate. Another stop was at Cologne, where she is careful to say that she did not admire either the heads of the eleven thousand virgins nor those of the Three Kings. She was charmed by the magnificent situation of the castle of Rhinefels, where she was entertained by the Landgrave of Hesse; at Mannheim her brother and his wife met her in a carriage and conducted her to the Commissariat House. The impression made by the Electress on Sophie, who, clever and sprightly herself, was used to associate with some of the most cultivated women of the day, was such that on being left alone she exclaimed, "My sister-in-law is very stupid!"

It was not wonderful that in course of time the Elector became bored. He confided to his sister how much his wife's temper tried him, and begged her to use her influence to induce Charlotte to give up her "affectations," as he called her tantrums, as unsuited to a person of her rank. He acknowledged that she possessed sterling worth and many good qualities, though she had been badly brought up, and in spite of her faults, Sophie could

see he still idolized her. Rarely, however, is the interference of a sister wholesome between husband and wife, and Sophie soon found that Charlotte grew jealous of his confidence in her, and suspicious of his admiration for her maid-of-honour, Mistress Cary. It was part of Charlotte's unreasonableness that though she frequently provoked his jealousy by her love of admiration, and was enraged at any expression of it, yet she was suspicious of his slightest notice of any other woman.

The arrival of the Princess Elizabeth, who, as a sensible woman, twelve years older than Sophie, might have acted with discretion, rather inflamed the mischief, for she espoused Charlotte's cause with some warmth, and encouraged her to dwell on fancied slights. She had been spending some time with her two aunts at Berlin, and this seemed to have deepened the natural seriousness of her disposition, and her sister and brothers—Edward also had joined the family party—found her much altered. "Where has her liveliness gone? What has she done with her merry talk?" they asked each other. She had just been instrumental in arranging the marriage of the third sister, Henrietta, with the Prince Rakoczy, which did not meet with the Elector's approval. Moreover, having relinquished all thoughts of marriage for herself, she was seriously considering retirement to some kind of conventual life.

The birth of two children, a boy and a girl, to Karl Ludwig, instead of drawing the parents together, formed a fresh bone of contention; for the father delighted in Liselotte, as he called the little Elizabeth Charlotte, a chubby, hearty, wholesome child, a great romp and afraid of nothing; while the boy was a delicate, timid little fellow who clung to his mother, and shrank nervously at a word from his father. Karl Ludwig, accustomed to the joyous healthy crowd of little brothers and sisters at the Hague, did not understand a boy of this sort, and thought to frighten the child into courage, to the indignation of Charlotte. Moreover he was annoyed at his wife's wilful imprudence in having persisted in hunting when she

should have been taking especial care of her health, and attributed to it the boy's delicacy and want of nerve. So each resented the favour shown to the other's pet, and friction grew.

The children led a very simple, natural life; later, in her letters from the Court at Versailles, Liselotte recalled fondly the days when she wandered over the heathy hill picking bilberries or wild strawberries, and played unreproved with the peasant children; for her father liked her to make herself popular with his subjects, and his hauteur was displayed to his equals or to those who would make themselves his superiors, not to the working-class folk. She used to be called "Rauscheblattknecht," out of an old fairy tale, for she would tear about like a leaf before the wind. Or she called to mind the delicious flavour of the cherries that grew in a certain orchard belonging to the house of Herr Apothecary Nebel, on the slope of what was called the Cool Valley on the north side of the Castle. The house was kept till quite recent years as a pension by one of his descendants; the garden still remains—perhaps the cherries still ripen there. The little Karellie rarely accompanied his sister on her rambles; he was shy with strangers, most things frightened him: he preferred to stay in his nursery with his toys or a book of pictures. Liselotte loved her merry aunt, who was not too old to romp with her, and when Sophie went away to Hanover Karl Ludwig sent his little daughter with her under the charge of her governess, afterwards Madame von Harling, feeling, loth as he was to part with her, that the condition of the home was such that little pitchers with long ears were best out of the way.

Not the least entertaining portion of Sophie's memoirs concern her own love affairs. The year Liselotte was born a visitor arrived at Heidelberg on his way home from Venice, whom she evidently found not a little attractive. This was Duke Ernst August of Brunswick and Lüneburg. She had seen him before as a boy in Holland, but she now found him much improved by foreign travel, and become

KARL LUDWIG: ELECTOR PALATINE.

ELISABETH CHARLOTTE, HIS DAUGHTER: 'LISE-LOTTE.'

From Portraits (Elizabeth Charlotte by Dreyer) in the Castle Museum.

Photo. by Ed. v. König.

quite accomplished. "We played the guitar together," says she, "which served to show off his exquisite hands; in dancing also he excelled. He offered to send me some of Corbetti's guitar music, and began a correspondence on this subject which I was the first to break off, fearing the world might call my friendship for him by a tenderer name." For, unfortunately, he was the youngest of three brothers, and no match for the favourite sister of the Elector Palatine, so Sophie dutifully put him out of her head, and the proposals of Prince Adolf, brother of the King of Sweden, were considered. Although she observes that he had a disagreeable face, with a long chin pointed like a shoe-horn, she was quite prepared to accept him at her brother's desire; but in the meantime another suitor presented himself who was more to the Elector's mind, namely, Duke Georg Wilhelm of Hanover, elder brother to that Ernst August who had made so favourable an impression. Finding that the King of Sweden was not disposed to ratify his brother's undertakings, especially that touching the exercise of the Princess's religion, Karl Ludwig considered his sister free to entertain other proposals, and the two Hanoverian dukes came on a visit to Heidelberg on their way to Venice. Duke Georg paid Sophie much attention and many compliments; but he was not really anxious to marry, only, being urged by his subjects, thought that of all the Protestant princesses available none would suit him so well as the Elector's sister. Sophie lent a willing ear, being glad of anything that should save her from the long-chinned Swede, whose temper she was warned was detestable. She gives no hint that she remembered former agreeable passages with the younger brother of Hanover, but naively remarks that he disliked the match, being so devoted to his brother and anxious to keep him to himself. The contract was signed by the two parties and the Elector, but on account of the Swedish affair was for the present known only to Ernst August and to the Chancellor von Hammerstein, through whom the first proposals had been made. So the brothers resumed their journey to Italy, whence

reports soon came that the two dukes were having a very gay time.

There was some little difficulty in disposing of the Swedish suitor; although the Elector conveyed a polite refusal through the emissary, Lasalle, the Prince insisted on coming himself with his sister the Margravine of Durlach to plead his own cause. Alternately he wept and stormed, but neither tears nor rages availed to overcome Sophie's cool contempt, and at last he was made to understand that the Elector did not desire the match and was not disposed to abate any of the demands which the King of Sweden had refused to fulfil.

Meanwhile it appeared that Sophie was not unlikely to fall between two stools, for in the distractions of Venice her promised bridegroom seemed to cool. Whether or not he had yet met Eleonora d'Olbreuse is not from Sophie's memoirs perfectly clear, but at any rate he began to repent the loss of his liberty; his letters grew colder and shorter, and at the appointed time he failed to appear. Sophie's feelings were not much engaged and pride maintained her indifference, but the Elector was deeply affronted on her behalf, and began to lend an ear to proposals from the Duke of Parma. But Duke Georg hit upon a happy expedient for extricating himself with honour; he may have known that his brother was not indifferent to his proposed bride, and but for his ineligibility as a younger son would himself long ago have come forward; he therefore proposed that if Sophie would take Duke Ernst he himself would enter into an engagement to contract no marriage, and would make over to his brother the family estates, retaining only a bachelor income for himself. The succession to the Duchy, however, could not be secured without the consent of the second brother, Johann Friedrich. This, as well as the consent of the Council, was with some difficulty obtained, and the faithful Hammerstein entrusted with the delicate task of inducing the Elector Palatine to permit the exchange of bridegrooms. Sophie's answer to her brother when asked if she were willing to take Duke

Ernst in his brother's stead shows the sort of conduct expected from a well-brought-up young woman in those days. From her previous mention of Duke Ernst, as well as from her subsequent expressions of devoted attachment, she evidently already much preferred him, but she says in her memoirs: "I replied that a good establishment was all I cared for, and that, if this was secured me by the younger brother, the exchange would be to me a matter of indifference; that I would gladly do whatever he thought best, for looking on him as my father, I trusted myself entirely to his care."

The wedding was celebrated in Heidelberg, whether in the church of the Holy Ghost or in the Castle chapel Sophie omits to say; probably the latter, as they walked in procession, preceded by twenty-four gentlemen bearing lighted torches. Her train, which was of enormous length, was carried by four maids-of-honour, and she was supported by her two brothers, the Elector and Prince Edward; while Duke Ernst had the two little princes, Karellie and the little Duke of Zweibrücken, for his pages. The bride wore a dress of white and silver brocade, her hair flowed over her shoulders, surmounted by a large crown of family diamonds. The pair stood beneath a canopy while the Te Deum was sung and the vows exchanged. After the ceremony supper was served at an oval table, and after supper the wedding party joined in a torchlight dance, according to the ancient German custom.

It was a curious thing that though Sophie had gained the man she preferred and always continued to love even when he little deserved it, she never forgave Eleonora d'Olbreuse for the defection of Duke Georg; when, galled by the position of mistress, Eleonora prevailed on the Duke to make a morganatic marriage with her, Sophie still treated her with hauteur and disdain, and was far from kind to her daughter, the unhappy Sophie who became the cruelly neglected wife of George I. of England, the "Uncrowned Queen" of Mr. Wilkins' romantic story. So Sophie, though the youngest of Elizabeth's children,

after almost making a match with a true King of England, became the mother of the titular King George I. through the Act of Settlement, missing the succession in her own person by a very few years.

But we must return to Heidelberg and the affairs of her brother, which were far from happy. Among the Electress's maids-of-honour was the Countess Luise von Degenfeld, a girl of very good family and considerable beauty. Less strikingly handsome than her mistress, and even in youth very fat, she had the charm of an exquisite fairness and of a feminine softness. Gentle and sympathetic, she had shown all too plainly her feeling in the painful scenes with the hot-tempered Charlotte which often took place in her presence; the handsome Elector was touched, and she caught in the rebound the heart which he had for so long vainly laid beneath his wife's feet. But if indiscreet, Luise was modest; her family was one that even the proud Elector would not dare affront by making her his mistress, so he resolved to get a divorce and make the countess his wife in Charlotte's room. In his defence it must be remembered that the Reformed Church had relaxed the bonds of marriage; to the Protestant it was no more a Sacrament, but only a contract, terminable when the advantages of it failed to be secured. We may remember how Milton sought to introduce the same view into England. A contract, however, requires the consent of both parties to set it aside, and the Electress was by no means willing to cede her rights.

The affair was curiously complicated by the arrival of Prince Rupert from his long voyage on the high seas, saddened by the loss of his favourite brother Maurice, impoverished, a landless man who had spent his best years in the English Civil War, and now presented himself to ask for a younger son's portion of the recovered inheritance. The Elector was not one who liked to part with property; moreover, he justly felt that the custom of dividing the patrimony had been for years a source of weakness to the Palatinate; still, Kaiserslautern, for

which Rupert pleaded, had always been either the younger son's portion or the widow's dower, and though Rupert was a bad financier, his sword might have been an invaluable asset. But Karl Ludwig failed to see of what value that might become; he wrote once to Sophie, who was in the confidence of both brothers: "Rupert might suit very well with those who cared to propagate the gospel by the sword; but he, for his part, loved peace and concord." *

A more subtle influence arose to warp his decision; Rupert too was fascinated by the beautiful Luise, and without any idea that he was poaching on his brother's manor, wrote her a letter of reproach for her coldness. To complicate matters further, Charlotte, who demanded the admiration of every man with whom she came in contact, found the letter, and imagining it addressed to herself answered it by assurances of her sisterly affection, which so covered him with confusion that he betrayed the mistake into which her vanity had led her. Mortified and enraged, the Electress dismissed Luise with insults, though in this matter she was perfectly innocent. The Elector thereupon took her formally under his protection, and, still more inflamed by her modest rejection of him, wrote her a letter promising to make her his wife so soon as he could obtain a divorce. This letter Charlotte found, having broken open and searched a box belonging to Luise, and, doubly infuriated, resolved that nothing should induce her to resign her rights as wife or Electress. She took care to inform Karl Ludwig that his brother was his rival with Luise.

The Elector's next step was to lay his demand for a separation before a Council of lawyers and divines, alleging that during his whole wedded life his wife's conduct had been "contradictory, disobedient, obstinate, sulky, and rebellious," and all his patience had failed to bring her to a better mind. It was common knowledge that at a public banquet she had thrown a plate at his head and he had boxed her ears. Meanwhile, since she would not

* *Briefwechsel der Herzoginn Sophie von Hannover*, E. Bodemann.

be dislodged, he repaired to Frankenthal, as the situation had become impossible. The justice of his claim was allowed, but the Electress was obdurate, and it was nearly a year before he could overcome the objection of Luise and her family, who insisted on a proper religious marriage, which at length, 6 January, 1658, was performed; no true marriage, however, even in a morganatic sense, as without the consent of Charlotte the divorce was invalid.

Charlotte was supported in her resolve by her eldest sister-in-law; Sophie, who loved her brother so well, could see no wrong in anything he did, and was fond of the gentle Luise; but Elizabeth, a high-minded and right-thinking woman, knew that he was wronging his wife and elder children, and left Heidelberg with an indignant protest, betaking herself not long after to her refuge at Herford.

With Rupert a still more serious quarrel ensued; he retired to the rooms assigned him at Alzei, and there a very stormy meeting took place between him and the Elector; bitter words passed between them, probably less about Rupert's claim to an inheritance than about the false position into which Karl Ludwig's unbridled passion was putting the woman Rupert too had loved. The appanage was refused, and the quarrel was so sharp that the Elector ordered the gates of Heidelberg to be closed against his brother, possibly fearing lest he might raise a rebellion in the town. When Rupert arrived and was refused admittance he demanded by whose order. When they showed him the paper written in Karl Ludwig's own hand he turned away, and raising his hat from his head swore with tears in his eyes that he would never more set foot in the Palatinate. Which oath he kept, for "he was a prince religious of his word." *

Twenty years later, when the French troops were devastating the Palatinate, what would not Karl Ludwig have given to recall his warlike brother? What would it not have been to him to know that on the failure of his line

* *Rupert, Prince Palatine*, Eva Scott.

the inheritance would devolve on one of his own blood, so well able to maintain the best traditions of the House ? But it was too late ; Rupert died unmarried, or at least with no acknowledged marriage, not many months after his brother. The Simmern line was fated to die out, as that of Wittelsbach had done before it.

V

"WEHE DIR, PFALZ"

YEARS went by and the Neckar valley was restored to its fertile beauty, to its smiling peace; the blackened hillsides were green once more and shaded with thick woods of beech and chestnut, villages clustered round the restored churches, and vineyards clothed the sunny slopes. Timber floated in great rafts down the river, barges and wherries plied, the life of the country-side throve in peace and order. The town had been almost rebuilt, handsome houses surrounded the Market Square, students thronged the streets; the ravages of war had been repaired in the Castle, the Hall of Mirrors and the English Palace, which had suffered most, being entirely rebuilt and a fifth high gable added, uniting the latter with the Friedrich Bau; a fountain played in the courtyard, and the gardens, though they never attained the magnificence planned by Solomon de Caus, were once more pleasant with cool alleys and sunny terraces; and the garden of silver firs, which still exists and is one of the great charms of the grounds, must have grown into full beauty. The third terrace Karl Ludwig devoted to a seed garden to supply the needs of the desert Palatinate, for which an entirely new beginning had to be made; it was so long since any crops had been sown or garnered that seeds were as scarce as jewels when first he came back. No wonder his people looked up to him as the restorer of their prosperity, and none foresaw that his should be the hand to sweep away what his long patience had built up.

Among the many strange contradictions in him was the

simple homely family life he led with his new wife Luise and the numerous children she brought him, seemingly so virtuous, though based on faithlessness and wrong. He had revived on her behalf the ancient Palatinate title of Rau-Gräfin, for she could never be Electress, and by almost every one she was acknowledged and treated as though she had been a true second wife. His sister Sophie visited her when she came to Heidelberg, and greatly admired the two elder children, the Rau-Graf Karllutz and Rau-Gräfin Amalise, whom she described as charming little creatures. When the little Liselotte was nine years old she returned from her aunt's care to that of her stepmother, and grew up on affectionate terms with her little half-brothers and sisters, but Karellie was never happy. He would not acknowledge his stepmother, and could not get on with his brothers. His tutors, Pufendorf and Spanheim, learned and pedantic, had little understanding of the nervous, delicate boy; they made an elegant Latin scholar of him, but failed to develop his character or train him up into a capable ruler.

At nineteen he was sent to travel in France and Switzerland in the hope of strengthening his still weak health and rubbing off his morbid shyness, but it did him little good in either way—only developed tastes he would have been better without. He also visited his cousin Charles II. in England, and took a degree at Oxford. On his departure his father gave him his mother's rings, but accompanied the gift with bitter words about her which must have further estranged her son. She, though still obstinately refusing to abrogate her rights, had retired to her mother's home at Cassel, after having spent some little time in a house in Heidelberg, the one formerly belonging to the Bishop of Worms, and later called the English House; a course which must have not only annoyed her husband, but greatly exasperated her own feelings, exposing her constantly to the sight of him with her rival.

When Liselotte was grown to womanhood—fair, plump, and though not pretty, a lively, merry girl, absolutely without affectation and by no means unattractive—her

father began to look about for a suitable match for her; his other daughters could only fill a private station, and he was anxious to see her brilliantly established. And to do this he entered upon a fatal policy. For centuries past an alliance with France, which should make the Palatinate less dependent on the Empire, had dazzled and misled the Electors: in theory it seemed very fine to hold the balance between two great Powers which should be obliged to court the little Principality between them, but in practice the Palatinate had never been strong enough to maintain this neutral attitude, and certainly was not now; the geographical position was critical, and it was far more likely to become the battle-ground when the threatened strife came. For the weakness of Germany was the opportunity of France; the Empire was exhausted with the long struggle of the Thirty Years War, and the Peace of Westphalia left it, instead of a strong federation under one head, a collection of loosely connected semi-independent states, owning in the Emperor a mere titular sovereign, and with little beyond the bond of a common language to hold them together. Except in his own hereditary dominions of Austria and Hungary the Emperor was but a shadow.

The power of France meanwhile had been steadily waxing, and the ambition of Louis XIV. was to make himself master of Europe; he was waiting to pick a quarrel with the Emperor on any frivolous pretext that might present itself, and it occurred to him that a foothold on the Rhine would be a valuable lever. He therefore proposed an alliance with the Elector Palatine, to be cemented by a marriage between the Elector's daughter and his brother the Duke of Orleans, lately left a widower by the death of Henrietta Stuart. How a man of the good sense and capacity of Karl Ludwig can have fallen into such a snare is hardly to be understood, but the glitter of Versailles seems to have dazzled every one, and he was ambitious for his daughter. That he was sacrificing her to a most uncongenial life never occurred to him. The chief difficulty was the one of religion, and it was got over in a way

which reflected little credit on either father or daughter. The toleration which had been bred in him by long years of sickening religious strife, and in which he had educated Liselotte, was in both not far removed from indifferentism, but the Heidelbergers were as ever passionately attached to the Reformed Faith, and it might have been a serious shake to their allegiance had their Elector openly permitted his daughter to go over to Rome.

The widow of Edward, Anne de Gonzaga, still resided in Paris, and the match, if not originally of her suggesting, was very much of her making; she did all she could to smooth away difficulties, and with her aid a plot was concocted which should save appearances. The Elector refused his consent to the change of religion, but nevertheless conducted his daughter to Strasburg and placed her in the charge of the Princesse Palatine, privately assuring her of his forgiveness should the instructions of the Catholic Director of the Princesse convert her. Liselotte well understood in which direction his wishes lay, and finding the study of religious books "langweilig," quickly declared herself convinced. In a letter to her stepsister Amalise she expressed her opinion that "the foundation of Christianity is the same in all religions; the differences are only parsons' talk (Pfaffengeschwätz)." After her reception into the Church of Rome she humbly confessed the step she had taken to her father, a confession which he received with feigned surprise and indignation; but she was well assured of his real consent.

Little was gained by the sacrifice; the simple, hearty German girl was homesick for Heidelberg her life long. Except the hunting parties in the forest of Fontainebleau, the pleasures of Versailles did not appeal to her. Her great resource was writing voluminous letters to her stepsisters, to her aunt Sophie, and to her old governess, Madame de Harling; these letters, written with wonderful vigour and shrewdness, give a vivid picture of her character and its strange contrast to her surroundings. Though she never returned to Heidelberg, she was all her life like a fish out of water in the artificial atmosphere of

the French Court, yet, simple, candid, and outspoken though she was, she got on admirably with her husband and with his brother, the King of France, and always made herself respected. According to our modern notions she may be at times a little coarse in speech, but was always pure in morals, upright, and straightforward. Her new religion sat lightly on her, and she loved to sing the Lutheran hymns she had learned as a child, as well as the folk songs, such as "Stroh, Stroh! Die Sommer is do!" Among the luxuries and refinements, the coffee and chocolate of Versailles, her homely palate hankered for the bacon, red cabbage, and "good pancakes" of her old home. Prettier recollections are those of the lovely walks round about Heidelberg for which her heart yearned, the road to Schwetzingen bordered with wild plum, a garland of blossom in March, for the shady way through the wood to the Wolfsbrunnen, for the ferry across the water, and the road by the riverside to Stift Neuburg.*

How must her affectionate heart have been torn when the results of the boasted alliance revealed themselves. She was absolutely without political power, and twice had to see her own country devastated by the country of her adoption, while she could not lift a finger to hinder. It was but three years after her marriage when war broke out between France and Germany, and it became apparent what a critical situation the Elector Palatine had placed himself in. Duty and interest alike bade him range himself on the side of his own country, but he was entangled in his alliance with Louis, having received subsidies from him, and also having lent an ear to the chimerical project of the French King of establishing a world-wide Empire, which should include a province of Austrasia, answering to the old German division of the Empire of Charlemagne, the crown of which was dangled before the eyes of the Elector. Louis evidently thought he had secured his support by the double appeal to his avarice and his ambition, and demanded entry into

* *Pfalzgräfin Elisabeth Charlotte, Herzoginn von Orleans*, Dr. J. Wille.

Oppenheim for his troops almost as a matter of course. Too late Karl Ludwig perceived what the price of the French alliance was to be. What he called neutrality was interpreted by Louis as the right to use his country as a base of operations against Germany. He refused the demand, and sent secretly to Vienna for aid in fortifying his western frontier and for troops, for he was in no posture of defence. All his efforts for years had been directed for peace, not war, for establishing a contented peasantry and cultivating the land, not for maintaining a standing army; he had been building villages, not forts. But the Emperor either did not trust him or was slow to move; French emissaries were everywhere, and his policy was known in Paris as soon as in Vienna; Louis retaliated by sending an army under Turenne to lay waste the Palatinate. It was a measure of revenge, and so thoroughly was the savage order carried out, that a few weeks wiped out all the prosperity that had been slowly built up through five-and-twenty long years. Both the Hardtgebirge and the Bergstrasse suffered cruelly; Weinheim was almost demolished and its inhabitants turned out to wander in the snow; while at Handschuhsheim nothing but the church and orphanage were left standing.

In vain Karl Ludwig opposed his small ill-equipped army against the troops of mercenary soldiers which France could put into the field, which were continually reinforced by men whose trade was war, and who were tempted to enlist by the licence to plunder a country of vineyards. It seemed the very irony of fate that their commander should be the Elector Palatine's own cousin, the son of his father's old friend the Huguenot Duke de Bouillon, who had become a Catholic and taken service under Louis XIV. An extraordinary letter is extant in which the hard-headed Elector, after reproaching him bitterly with thus ravaging the country which had been a refuge to both his father and grandfather, challenged him to single combat, since he had himself no army wherewith to oppose him on equal terms. One could fancy such a proposition emanating from the chivalrous Rupert

or Maurice; from this man of nearly sixty, noted for his prudence, it makes the reader rub his eyes. Needless to say, it was rejected with scorn. Some thought that it mitigated Turenne's brutality, but the fact was the devastated country no longer afforded subsistence to the troops, and they were withdrawn. In 1679 a hollow and temporary peace was concluded.

But Karl Ludwig's heart was broken; he never lifted up his head again. His policy had utterly broken down; he had secured neither the happiness of his favourite child nor the prosperity of his country by his sacrifice of honour; he had only forfeited his right to the proud title of Restorer of the Palatinate; impoverished, weakened, its fortresses slighted, it only existed at the mercy of the French King, and his tender mercies were cruel.

At this lowest point of his fortunes domestic sorrow fell upon him; Luise, to whom he had remained tenderly attached, died in the year 1677 at the birth of her fourteenth child. He wrote to his sister Sophie that his tears would never be dried till the sand should dry them when he should lie beside the lost Luise in the church of the Concordia which he had built at Mannheim, where he buried her. He over-estimated his own constancy, however, for he took another mistress, a certain Fraulein Berau, not long after the death of Luise, but did not make her in any sense his wife, for he negotiated with his son to induce the Electress Charlotte to consent to a formal divorce that he might be able to seek an alliance with some princess in the hope of leaving legitimate offspring, for Karl had now been married nearly ten years without any prospect of issue. This attempt, however, was in vain; Charlotte still stood upon her rights.

Suddenly on the way from Friedrichsburg to Heidelberg, the year after the French invasion, the Elector was seized with a fever. Feeling very ill, he alighted at Edinger and had a chair brought him in the open air under the shade of a filbert and a vine, and there he breathed his last.

Of all his numerous children there was only the sickly

and childless Karl to carry on the line; neither his strong and clever Degenfeld sons, nor his English son Ludwig von Rothschild, whom he created Baron von Selz, could inherit, being all illegitimate. Sad indeed was the position of his second family after his death, for in spite of his lavish affection he had neglected to make any provision for them, and but for Liselotte and their aunt Sophie of Hanover they might have starved; these two kindly women allowed them a maintenance and pushed their fortunes in every way they could. Karl had always resented their existence, and would not suffer them to remain in Heidelberg after his accession.

The reign of Karl is but a colourless episode between two French wars; he was not the man to retrieve broken fortunes nor to establish a more successful policy; his only independent efforts were directed towards replacing Church affairs precisely on the same footing as they had been a century or more ago under his ancestor Friedrich the Pious; for he had nothing of his father's tolerant and liberal spirit. Under him the great Providence church of which Karl Ludwig had laid the first stone was taken from the Lutherans, and they were only permitted the partial use of St. Peter's; mixed marriages between Lutherans and Calvinists were discountenanced and Lutheran schools suppressed; nothing but the Heidelberg Catechism was permitted. Like his forefathers, he extended a welcome to the refugees who sought an asylum after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and when a colony of them comprised twenty families he furnished them with a preacher of their own persuasion.

Under him financial affairs, which had so thriven with his father, got quickly into hopeless confusion, for he was no manager, and like most weak men, apt to trust everything to favourites who feathered their own nests; moreover his Court was extravagant and wasteful to a degree. He was much to be pitied in his unfitness for the position to which he had been called; he had had an unhappy and mismanaged childhood, and was equally unhappy in his marriage. His wife Wilhelmina Ernestine of Denmark

was older than himself and of very different tastes; in one thing only they sympathized, she could not endure the Degenfeld connection, and even in the lifetime of Karl Ludwig would never treat the Rau-Gräfin with any consideration. More dutiful than his father had been to his mother, he sent money to Charlotte and invited her to return to Heidelberg so soon as he had banished the family who would have been an affront to her. Yet not even with her did he have any comfort; the years had brought no softening to her temper, and she seemed to resent that her only son should be so sickly, so depressed, so unsatisfactory a ruler.

He added somewhat to the fortifications of the Castle, building the Karlsthurm, which was entirely destroyed in the Orleans War, on the site of the old tennis court, and making a new tennis court to the west of the Ruprecht Bau. But the only enduring mark he left is a stone, once in the wall of the Castle, now removed to Elizabeth's garden, with an inscription recording the feat of splitting a bullet with a bullet which he successfully achieved.

The inherited taste for drama and pageant which he derived from both Stuart and Palatine ancestors developed in him into a love of wasting his time in private theatricals in the theatre his father had made in the Dicke Thurm, forgetful that his dignity as Elector Palatine should have withheld him from displaying his person on the boards. Soon he sickened even of these amusements; nothing cheered or distracted him long, and it became evident that the succession should be looked to, for the Simmern line was about to be extinguished. The next heir was Philip Wilhelm of Neuburg, son of that Wolfgang of Zweibrücken who had turned Catholic and inherited the Jülich and Cleves property. He had been educated by the Jesuits, and Karl was very anxious before he died to obtain a promise of toleration for the Protestants. It was a redeeming point in the midst of his frivolity that he should have concerned himself about it. He was on his death-bed before the contract was signed; he was, however, conscious and able to ask about it, and

Philip Wilhelm promised to observe it according to the provisions of the Peace of Westphalia.

The death of Karl caused grief in Heidelberg rather because he was the last of a great line, and because in him the hopes of the Protestants were extinguished, than because he personally had made much mark on his time. When he lay dead ominous whispers passed, recalling the strange prophecy of disaster which had been heard in the early years of Karl Ludwig's reign. It was during the Elector's absence at the Reichstag, and his cousin the Administrator, Duke of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, had taken up his quarters in the newly restored Otto Heinrich Palace. It was his custom to dine alone, and one day after the midday meal, having dismissed his pages, he heard a voice that wailed through the room, "O Wehe dir, Pfalz!" ("Woe to thee, Palatinate!") He started up and flung back the door, but no one was to be seen, nor could any inquiry elicit any sort of explanation.

Now it seemed about to be fulfilled, for the death of this insignificant prince was the last and worst of Heidelberg's disasters, for it formed the pretext for the Orleans War. His sister the Duchess of Orleans was of course debarred from the succession by the Salic Law, and had moreover been obliged to sign a renunciation of all and every right in the Palatinate on her marriage with a French prince, but in utter disregard of both these things Louis saw an opportunity to seize on the coveted border country. He laid claim on his sister-in-law's behalf not merely to the personalty of Karl, but to the Palatinate itself. The claim was lodged before the Reichstag at Ratisbon immediately after the death of the Elector Palatine; but the assembly, probably fearing the effect of a decision either way, delayed and dallied with it for three years, the legal heir, Philip Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg, entering on his inheritance meanwhile and governing peacefully. Louis proposed to refer the decision to the Pope, counting doubtless on being able to coerce him, but this suggestion was waived by the Reichstag, and another proposal of arbitration by James II. of England and the

Republic of Venice also fell to the ground through their unwillingness to mix themselves in the quarrel. In 1688 the death of the Electress Charlotte left her dowry also to be disputed. Philip Wilhelm sensibly let her furniture and pictures go to her daughter, and at length the decision was reached that the personal property of Karl should descend to his sister; but the Palatinate, with the Electoral vote, must of course, according to precedent, to the Golden Bull, and to the undertakings signed on the marriage of Elizabeth Charlotte, go to the male heir. No other decision was possible; but Louis was infuriated, and seizing the opportunity when Austria was engaged with the Turks on her eastern frontier, placed French garrisons in Kaiserslautern, Alzei, Neustadt, and Oppenheim, and threatened Heidelberg itself.

It was a shameless proceeding, but worse was to follow. Heidelberg and Mannheim both quickly capitulated on the faith of a promise that rights of citizenship and of religion should be respected. The truth was that the Palatinate was but half-hearted in the defence of its Catholic and absentee ruler, and would far rather belong to its beloved princess Liselotte. The deluded Heidelbergers little understood with whom they had to deal. Elizabeth Charlotte was but a cipher, a pawn in the game her husband's brother was playing; she could but sit at Versailles and mourn over the hideous news of her ruined home that came to her. Trusting in the capitulation, Heidelberg had opened its gates, and the Castle as well as the town was entirely in the hands of the French, when the order came that the Castle was to be slighted, the town burnt, and the whole country for ten miles round laid waste—"made bald" was the expression. This was in revenge for the baffling of his plans which Louis was experiencing in Germany.

Defence was impossible, for everything was already in the hands of the enemy. In January, 1689, the French commander had the Thick Tower, the Karl's Tower, the Rondel on the rampart, undermined, as well as the Trutzkaiser, the town walls, the bridge over the Neckar, and

the Speyer Gate. On the 28th came the news of the advance of German troops, and Mèlac withdrew his forces to the Rhine valley; but it was too late to save the town. In February he returned, burning and destroying as he came. Handschuhsheim and Neuenheim were laid even with the dust, ten towns and seventeen villages were burning at once.

Meanwhile the plundering of the Castle went on apace; the hoarded treasures of cellars and arsenal, the magnificent collections of armour and weapons, were all transported across the Rhine, while pictures and furniture fell a prey to the soldiers, and most were wantonly destroyed. In March the wicked work was completed; the mines were fired, and of the glorious Castle, one of the finest buildings of Europe, little remained but the blackened shell with its hollow window-places like dead eyes. Mèlac stood the while in the market-place, chuckling over his work. Little wonder if to this day the Heidelbergers regard him and his master as fiends incarnate.

The town also was fired, and but for the humanity of certain among the French officers, who lighted damp straw to create a smoke which could be easily extinguished, the whole town would have been reduced to ashes. The churches suffered severely, narrowly escaping demolition, and many of the tombs and monuments were wantonly destroyed. When at length his work was done, Mèlac marched his troops through Schwetzingen to Mannheim, their way being lighted by the columns of fire from the burning villages on their route.

When German troops at length arrived to take possession there was little left to save, and the Peace of Ryswick restored but a ruined and wasted land into the hands of its legitimate rulers.

VI

HEIDELBERGA DELETA

WITH the final destruction in the Orleans War the narrative of Heidelberg in history ends. The cruel and vengeful sentence which Louis XIV. caused to be inscribed on the coin he struck to commemorate the wicked deed of 1689 proved only too true; politically Heidelberg was wiped out. It lives in the life of its University, and it lives as the seat of one of the grandest memorials remaining of the architecture of a worthier day, but its part in the world's drama is played out.

With the extinction of the Simmern line it passed into alien hands; for although the Pfalz-Neuburg or Zweibrücken branch were descended from the same stock, and for many generations were in close and friendly relations with the reigning family, after the conversion of Count Wolfgang, and his accession to the Principality of Jülich with Cleves, the centre of their interest was changed. The Palatinate, when it came to them, was regarded as an appendage to their dominions; it was no longer a centre of power. And after the destruction Heidelberg could not be, for many years at least, the residence of the Court; that was at Düsseldorf, and Heidelberg became as a stepchild to its ruler.

The first who succeeded as Elector Palatine fulfilled faithfully his promises to the dying Karl; during his short and troubled reign the Protestants were in no way molested nor Catholics unduly favoured. He was kindly, too, in his endeavours to repair the ravages of the first French invasion, though not rivalling Karl Ludwig as "Restorer"; but he seemed half-hearted in maintaining

THE RUINS FROM THE RIVER.

Photo. by Ed. v. Konig.

his own rights. He was already an old man when Louis XIV. brought forward his preposterous claim, and the disaster of 1689 threw him on a sick-bed from which he never rose. He died after a brief reign of five years, a reign which witnessed all the horrors of the Orleans War.

His successor, Johann Wilhelm, did not feel himself bound by the same promises; moreover the situation had been materially changed by the Peace of Ryswick, and he was much more zealous in trying to bring back his own religion. It does not appear that the Protestants were in any way persecuted or interfered with in the exercise of their form of worship, but he endeavoured to regain for the Catholics much of their lapsed property, and favoured the Lutherans, between whom and the Calvinists feeling was still more bitter than between either section and the Catholics. Prolonged and complicated strife over these questions of property, over what were called the Simultan churches, the use of which was allowed in common, and wrangles between the preachers of the various denominations, lasted throughout his somewhat long reign.

He did what he could for the restoration of the ruined town, built a large college on the site of the Dionysium, and began to attempt some restoration of the Castle. His heart was in Düsseldorf, his own residence, where he had a very precious collection of pictures, the chief treasures of which are now in the Pinacothek in Munich. The Jülich family were all enthusiasts for art, if somewhat of the dilettante order, and were inclined to a lavish expenditure which the exhausted finances of their new inheritance could ill bear. When in the Palatinate they made their residence at Schwetzingen, where they had a palace something in the style of a miniature Versailles, with gardens and elaborate fountains quite in the French taste.

Johann Wilhelm was succeeded by his brother Karl Philip 1716, who had been bred for the Church, and was still less tolerant. For long the church of the Holy Ghost had been used in common, and in 1705 had been divided by the partition which still stands, the nave being as-

signed to the Protestants, the choir to the Catholics. This unsightly and deplorable wall he wished to abolish, claiming the use of the whole church for his own religion. But he over-estimated his power as a ruler; the Heidelbergers had remained steadfastly attached to the Reformed doctrine, and they passionately loved their old church; so serious a riot arose over the question that Karl Philip had to give way. He was, however, so indignant that he declared that unless the inhabitants would resign their rights in the church, for which he would give them compensation, he would, instead of restoring the Castle, remove the seat of government to Mannheim, and leave Heidelberg to become a village with grass growing in the streets. So he shook the dust from his feet and went away in a rage.

Looking at that most lovely ruin on the hillside, and comparing it with the great monotonous barrack which eighteenth-century taste erected by way of a palace in Mannheim, the lover of Heidelberg heaves a sigh of relief that the contest ended as it did; better even the grass in the streets than that so beautiful a relic should have vanished from the earth. And the feet of wayfarers, of those who seek Learning, and of those who seek the Past, have hindered that grass from ever growing.

The cousin of the Sulzbach line, Karl Theodor, who succeeded in 1742, did not keep up the resentment, but accomplished so much for the well-being of the town that a rather fulsome inscription on the Karlsthor, which he erected on the east side, describes him as "the Father of the Fatherland." He also rebuilt the old bridge in stone, with a gate-tower at the town end not very unlike the original one, and his statue just inside it. For art and learning he was most zealous, establishing an observatory and a botanical garden, a natural history museum at Mannheim, a picture gallery, a museum of antiques, a collection of prints, a society of learned men, and a stage society. To his learned academy belonged Lessing, Klopstock, and Schiller, and the latter, as well as Iffland, wrote plays for his stage society.

All these interests and activities brought a good deal of life about him; especially did it gather an intellectual coterie in Mannheim, where his Court resided, and it was a terrible blow to the prosperity of the place when, the succession to Bavaria falling to him, he removed his Court and his pictures to Munich, and the prestige of the Palatinate once more declined. With his death in 1799 the line of Pfalz-Sulzbach died out; the Upper Palatinate passed to Max Joseph of Bavaria, the Rhenish Palatinate, with Heidelberg and Mannheim, became merged in the Grand Duchy of Baden. Therewith, as a separate and individual country, it ceased to exist.

In many ways, however, Heidelberg profited by the change: her new ruler, the Grand Duke Karl Friedrich, was a Protestant, and therefore more in sympathy with the town; but he was far from desiring to force any rigid system of conformity on all alike, and under him the tolerant ideals of Karl Ludwig were almost realized. In the present day the religious position is much as the latter devised it. In Prussia the two sections of the Protestants, Lutheran and Reformed, consented so far to lay aside their differences as to be amalgamated in a State Church so early as 1817, and after the consolidation of German Unity the same arrangement was gradually introduced into all the German states. As two schools of thought, as two parties indeed, they still exist side by side, as do the "Low Church" and "High Church" within the Church of England. In Heidelberg "High" Lutherans not infrequently attend the Anglican services, since Heidelberg, as ever, inclines more to the "Low" or Calvinistic form of worship. If one may judge at all from the extreme emptiness of the churches on Sunday, unless when some noted preacher is announced, the increasing tolerance has been accompanied by a growing indifference to the outward forms of religion amongst the Protestants, and "free-thought" is said to be very rife, especially among the younger men.

In the country villages where there is only one church the custom is still kept of allowing its use in turn to Catho-

lics and Protestants. Since the days of the Neuburg and Sulzbach princes there has been a considerable body of Catholics, and these have of late so increased that, overflowing the great Jesuit church, they have built another large one in the Rohrbacher Street, and yet another, across the river in Neuenheim, is (1904) in course of building. Two handsome Protestant churches have also been erected in these large and growing suburbs.

The followers of Dr. Döllinger, calling themselves Old Catholics, who, preserving Catholic doctrine and worship, repudiated the Vatican Decrees of 1870 and severed themselves from Papal control, have several adherents, especially among the Universtiy professors. Though a small, they are an influential body, and recently obtained the use of the Catholic end of the church of the Holy Ghost.

In another way the Grand Duke Karl Friedrich strove to rival the "Restorer of the Palatinate." Like all the Electors before him he was a lover of learning, and his first care was to refound the University, which, nearly destroyed in the Thirty Years War, had once more suffered almost annihilation in the burning and sack of the town by Mèlac. So a stately building with a steep mansard roof arose in the square where formerly the Augustinian Monastery, and later the Collegium Sapientiae, had stood, containing a splendid hall and small lecture-rooms for the Faculties of Arts, Theology, and Jurisprudence; while those for Medicine were established in various hospitals in the town, and Astronomy betook itself to the Königstuhl. The building was named the Ruperto-Carola in memory of the first and latest founders, and the new University was so completely one with the old, that in 1886 it celebrated its five-hundredth anniversary with great brilliance.

In order to maintain its close connection with the reigning house the Grand Duke constituted himself the first Rector, and ordained that the office was to go with the title. Like those who before him had restored the University, he sought the best men to fill the newly created Chairs. Eminent professors brought fame, and fame

brought many students, so that soon Heidelberg was in the full swing of the intellectual movements of the day. "The old Humanistic and the new Romantic, the old Rationalistic and the new Philosophic developments found their representatives and leaders in all the Faculties, especially those of Arts and Theology." * The romantic school was well represented by von Arnim, Brentano, Gorres, Tieck, Jean Paul Richter, who all either learned or taught in the University or made some sojourn in the town.

And still the student life goes on—fighting, singing, beer-drinking—with youth's unchangeable conservatism, as it has gone on ever since the days of Ruprecht the Elder. The student of to-day, wearing the cap of his "Nation," associating only with caps of a similar colour, and fighting duels with those of other colours—in which the punctilios of honour observed go far to redeem the brutality—accompanied invariably by the ugliest obtainable bulldog, getting not infrequently locked up for breaches of the peace with the townsfolk, and decorating the Carcer in his durance with charcoal sketches as his predecessors did before him, closely reproduces him of Karl Ludwig's day, and is in no essential different from those who flocked to the new seat of learning five hundred years ago. The ancient system of the students residing together in colleges (Bursen), enforced by Johann Casimir, was under Karl Ludwig relaxed, the young men being permitted to reside where they would so that it were in a reputable house. These colleges had been established on the principle of the old divisions into "Nations"—Franconian, Swabian, etc.—and these were revived in the last cenutry in the Student Corps with their distinguishing colours. The corps are an immense force of conservatism, preserving the old traditions, and especially the duelling customs, in full force. They are also a strong bond of patriotism and brotherhood between the lads, and contain within themselves many associations for special study, for athletics, or for music.

* *Heidelberg und Umgebung*, von Karl Pfaff.

Scarcely less important than the refounding of the University was the return of the bulk of the renowned Bibliotheca Palatina, which since the Thirty Years War had reposed in the Vatican, filling thirty decorated cases. After the campaign of 1815 negotiations were entered into by Barons von Altenstein and von Humboldt for the restitution of what was described as " the Thesaurus of the best German literature." Many of the MSS. were lacking, it was supposed carried off by Maximilian to Munich ; not improbably some may have been burnt before Tilly's guard was set ; but eight hundred and ninety were recovered, of which a full list is given in Wilke's history. Among these were the chief treasures of old German poetry, some precious illuminated codices of Virgil and Terence, many Greek and Oriental MSS., and an English fragment of the Legend of St. George. Several had been bound by the Pope in green parchment with the Barberini crest (three bees). The printed books had been less coveted, so had become more hopelessly scattered, but a large number were recovered.

The current of intellectual life has always flowed strong in Heidelberg and does so still, though it may not seem at the time to touch very closely the idle, lecture-shirking youth for whose sake it is supposed to exist. So many distinguished names have adorned the University since its restoration, and adorn it still, that in so brief a sketch it is difficult to particularize. Theology has always been well represented there, with the various schools of Biblical exegesis : Gervinus the famous Hebraist ; Schenkel, who founded the Protestant Union ; and the celebrated Theologian Rothe, whose bust is in St. Peter's church, have all been eminent in this line. In the present day Professor Deissmann lectures on the New Testament, and is distinguished as the decipherer of ancient texts found in stone or in papyri. Greatest among the preachers of Heidelberg is Professor Bassermann, stately and eloquent, and when he preaches the University sermon St. Peter's is thronged with attentive hearers.

Science looks back with pride to Helmholtz and Bunsen,

the great chemist; while the medical schools of to-day, especially the ophthalmic and obstetric, as well as the anatomical, have a great reputation. The observatory at the Königstuhl is doing good work; frequent announcements appear of the discovery of new planets by Professor Max Wolf.

In the Faculty of Arts historical research since the days of Marquard Freher and Alting has always flourished. The three brothers Wundt did wonders in recovering lost records and searching the archives for forgotten transactions, as did also Dr. Batt; and Dr. Häusser acknowledges his indebtedness to all these in his valuable work. His mantle has fallen on the shoulders of Herr Professor Dr. Jakob Wille, whose promised history of the Palatinate will be a mine of interesting information, if we may judge by the illuminating monographs he has published on various single figures. Professor Tode lectures on art and archæology, and deserves the thanks of all lovers of Heidelberg for his endeavours (in which he was aided by Baron von Bernus of Stift Neuburg) to preserve the Castle ruins from the reckless restorer. Herr Kuno Fischer, who in 1904 celebrated his jubilee as a University professor, is a noted exponent of Goethe, on whom he has written several monographs, including one on the connection of the poet with Heidelberg, and a large number of valuable works in his special province of Philosophy. In Professor Hoops English literature finds an interpreter; he lectures on philology, and is about to bring out a critical edition of Keats.

Heidelberg's literary associations do not belong exclusively to the University; Goethe's visits, as well as his romantic drama of Götz von Berlichingen, associate his name closely with the town, and he left many memorials of his stay at Stift Neuburg in sketches and various relics carefully preserved there. A tablet on a house in the Karl's Platz records two of his visits to the brothers Boisserie, and all travellers know his favourite seat on the low wall above the moat with its exquisite view of town and river.

Heidelberg has been a felicitous inspirer of historical romance; both "Georg Taylor" and E. Hartner have given vivid pictures of the life of the olden time in *Clytia*, *Jetta* and *Im Schloss zu Heidelberg*, and the American, Longfellow, has left in his *Hyperion* one of the most perfect descriptions of the ruins that ever was penned. The name most fondly remembered by the Heidelbergers is that of Victor von Scheffel, whose monument stands in a proud position on the eastern terrace. He too shone in historical romance, and his *Ekkehard* and *Trompeter von Säkkingen* attained a phenomenal popularity. He is most familiar to the tourist through his enthusiastic verses to *Old Heidelberg*, quoted in every guide-book and inscribed in gilt letters on ivy leaves for a memento.

Nor must we forget the man to whose quiet and unostentatious work antiquarians owe a deep debt of gratitude. Three great gifts the nineteenth century brought to Heidelberg: the restoration of its University, the return in 1814 of its Library from its long sojourn in the Vatican, and not least the arrival of Count Charles de Graimberg just in time to save the Castle ruins from utter demolition. Neglect and ivy had done their worst, tourists chipping off bits of carving to carry away were doing the rest; another century would have seen little but crumbling walls but for this Frenchman belonging to a family of *émigrés* from Château Paar. Coming on a mere visit of curiosity, with the object of sketching in a picturesque neighbourhood, he fell forthwith so completely under the spell of the place that he never left it again, but devoted his long life, all his money, his zeal, and devotion to rescuing it from decay and depredation, to searching its records, collecting its scattered treasures, patiently making an indifferent people and a callous government realize the treasure they were suffering to slip away.*

First he took rooms above the Well-House, whence he could pounce out upon mischief-working tourists, and where he began to collect coins, prints, broken pieces of sculpture, anything, in fact, that could throw light upon

* Article on De Graimberg from publications of Schloss Verein.

the past, making the while pencil sketches and studies of the ruins, which he had engraved and sold in Paris, with the twofold purpose of earning money for the work and arousing interest in the subject. He was allowed to hire rooms over the Gate-House and subsequently in the domestic buildings to house his growing collection, but as it was not safe from depredation he had to appoint a caretaker at his own expense. Not until 1849 did the government allow him rooms in the Friedrich Bau, over the chapel, for what has now grown into the Castle Museum, and become one of the most interesting sights of the place. He had offers from other countries, one from England, to purchase his collection, but he would not suffer it to depart. Had the State bought it, it would have been lost to Heidelberg, as it would most likely have been taken to Karlsruhe or Mannheim.

His only helper was Dr. Thomas Alfried Leger, one of the professors, who was like-minded with himself in his devotion to the old place and its traditions, and wrote a most interesting historical guide, which De Graimberg edited in 1860 with Herr Barth's illustrations. Up to extreme old age he worked bravely on under every sort of discouragement, lack of means, actual suffering from the cold of the windowless, unwarmed rooms where he toiled, only laying down his task with his life, which ended in 1864 at the age of eighty. When he was gone the town awoke to his merits and placed a tablet to his memory near the entrance to his museum, acknowledging what they owed to "the stranger who showed himself the noblest of their citizens."

These three things—the restoration of the University, the return of the Bibliotheca Palatina, the preservation of the ruins—have given back to the town much that was lost in the long neglect of the eighteenth century: intellectually Heidelberg has not been deleted. It is a place of pilgrimage not only for the seekers of the Past, but for the students of the Present; a seat of learning where Past and Present meet, where the newest theories in science and criticism are to be sought side by side with the ancient

sources of wisdom in recovered papyri not to be found elsewhere; and these things bring strangers from many lands to come and set up their tents there. Its splendour belongs to the days that are gone, but it is full of an old-world charm, and like an aged man, garrulous with tales of the things that have been.

Of the restoration of the Castle buildings which these latter days are witnessing what shall we say? It was right to roof in the ruins to preserve them from the weather, but for a decorative restoration it were surely wiser to wait till another Alexander Colin, another Schoch, another Sebastian Götz should arise. For more may be lost by the hasty, unfeeling work of modern days than even decay has taken away, and the slow growth of centuries of the highest art is too precious to be lightly imperilled. "The cunning hand of art was busy for six centuries in raising and adorning these walls: the mailed hands of Time and War have defaced and overthrown them in less than two. Next to the Alhambra of Granada, the Castle of Heidelberg is the most magnificent ruin of the Middle Ages."*

* *Hyperion*, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

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